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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1421

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSSR'S HUSAK WRITES ON RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jul 77 pp 4-5 LD

[Article by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and president of the CSSR: "A Society of Free Labor"]

[Text] We shall soon be celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which was and is the main event of the 20th century. The proletariat of Russia, led by the Communist Party headed by the immortal V. I. Lenin, overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners in the course of the October Revolution, set about liquidating the old system of oppression and began creating a new socially and nationally just society.

The victory of the October Revolution opened up a new era of history, the era of the transition from socialism to communism, the era of the liberation of the working class and of the working man. Under the influence of the victorious revolution and following the example of the Soviet people, their Leninist party and the world's first socialist state, the peoples of a number of other countries embarked on the path of the revolutionary transformation of society after World War II, in which the Soviet Union played the main role in routing Hitlerite fascism and its allies. The world socialist system, of which Czechoslovakia has become a part, took shape and gained strength.

Socialism has grown and acquired strength and has demonstrated its advantages over capitalism. It has assumed the historical initiative and is pointing out the way to a free and happy life to those who are still subjected to exploitation and oppression.

The Great October Revolution marked a historic turning point in the destiny of the peoples of Russia. To its proletariat fell the difficult but at the same time honorable role of trail-blazer in building a new society free from man's exploitation of man and from social and national oppression. This was the greatest revolutionary task ever to confront the forces of progress.

Some 60 years have confirmed that, in itself, the socialist revolution is the most profound expression of democratism, since it cannot be brought about with the free creative participation of the broadest masses of the people in the transformation of society. The far-reaching consequences of the fact that the working class--whose chief interests coincide with the interests of the other sections of the working people--took power in the country into their own hands have been manifested. Only this most progressive class of the present time, which has the fullest possible interest in destroying the domination of the exploiter classes, was able to insure the building of a new society on a scale and at a rate unparalleled in history.

Under extraordinarily difficult conditions, with infinite heroism, self-sacrifice and tremendous revolutionary energy, the working class under the leadership of Lenin's party began, in alliance with the laboring peasantry and with the support of other sections of the working people, the creation of the socialist system. The first socialist country embodied the behests of the October Revolution in reality. The correctness, vitality and insuperable strength of the teaching of Marx/Engels and Lenin received convincing confirmation in practice.

Soviet people, having overcome the consequences of world war, civil war and foreign intervention, implemented Lenin's plan of building socialism. They displayed unparalleled heroism in the Great Patriotic War and in peaceful creative labor and insured the continued dynamic development of society. In a historically short time the USSR was transformed into a mighty socialist power carrying tremendous international weight.

On the basis of profound socioeconomic changes in the land of Soviets and in the life of its peoples, the high ideals of liberated labor, genuine humanism and effective democracy, the ideals of the international brotherhood of equal nations and nationalities and the ideals of the free, all-round development of man have been implemented.

This profoundly humane democratic and creative nature of the socialist system is being manifested even more fully under the conditions of a developed socialist society, the creation of which is a new and genuinely historic victory for the Soviet people and their Communist Party.

The 25th CPSU Congress has demonstrated to the entire world the outstanding successes that the Soviet people have achieved in the creation of the material-technical base of communism in recent years, which have been among the most fruitful in the entire time of building socialism. On the basis of the dynamic growth of the national economy (and on the overall favorable results of the Ninth Five-Year Plan) a broad social program of concern for man and for enhancing the material and cultural standard of his life has been realized. The sociopolitical unity of the Soviet people has strengthened, socialist democracy has grown firmer, and social life has flourished.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, precisely described the successes that the Soviet people have achieved: "We have created a society free of the domination of a monopolistic oligarchy, free of the fear of crises and unemployment, and free of social ills. We have created a society of people who are equal in the very broadest sense of the word, who do not know class, property, racial or other similar privileges, a society which not only declares human rights but also insures in practice the opportunity for them to be exercised. We have created a stable, dynamic and cohesive society."

We in Czechoslovakia have experienced tremendous joy in connection with the remarkable successes which the Soviet people have achieved under the leadership of the CPSU along the 60-year path of building socialism and communism. With all our hearts we warmly congratulate the Soviet communists and all the Soviet people on these achievements.

Through the facts of historical development we are deeply aware of the significance of the Great October Revolution for the peoples of Czechoslovakia too. It can be said that the entire most recent history of our people and their struggle for national and social liberation and for the overthrow of capitalism and building of socialism are inseparably linked with the inspiring influence of the October Revolution, with the existence of the Soviet Union and with Marxism-Leninism.

In their history our peoples--the Czechs and Slovaks--have had on many occasions to rise up to struggle for their independence and national existence. It was only the October Revolution, which gave powerful impetus to the national liberation movement and under whose influence the independent Czechoslovak state emerged, which set an example for our peoples too of how to solve national and social problems and kindled in our hearts the spark of hope for a better future.

However, the bourgeoisie at that time managed to appropriate the fruits of our people's national liberation struggle and to become the ruling class in the Czechoslovak Republic. But it was incompetent and unable--because of the limited nature of its class interest--to satisfy the most vital demands of the workers and of all the working people. Moreover, it was revealed that, as a consequence of its close links with the Western imperialist powers in economic, military and ideological spheres, the bourgeoisie was unable to firmly insure state independence and freedom for our peoples.

Through their own experience the working class came to know the bourgeois nature of the Czechoslovak state which emerged at that time and the reasons for their own oppressed situation. The most conscious representatives of the proletariat strove more and more actively to establish in the consciousness of the masses the idea that in order to march along the path of the October Revolution, to rout the bourgeoisie and build a socialist society it was necessary, as a precondition, to create here a new type of

party after the model of the Russian Bolsheviks which would become the combat vanguard of the masses.

Thus, under the influence of the October Revolution and Leninism and with the direct assistance of Lenin's party and of V. I. Lenin personally, the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] emerged. It mastered the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, learned how to apply its ideals creatively to our conditions, and was inspired by the example of the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. In the bitter class battles against the ruling bourgeoisie and acting in defense of the republic against fascism, it received its tempering and became a decisive political force in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Czechoslovakia against the Nazi invaders. During the big class and national battles the CPCZ became the leader of the working class and of the broad masses of the working peoples and, in the postwar period, the acknowledged leading force of our peoples.

Learning the lessons from the tragic times of the bourgeois republic, of the Munich betrayal and of the Nazi enslavement, the working class and the working masses, which were supporting the policy of our Communist Party increasingly actively, decided to build the reborn Czechoslovak state on new just social and national foundations. They struggled to insure that Czechoslovakia became a state where the working people would rule--the working people who would implement profound transformations in society and insure national security on the basis of an alliance and friendship with the USSR.

After the liberation of our motherland by the Soviet Army our people, under the leadership of the CPCZ, had again and again to wage a struggle against the bourgeoisie, which had not abandoned its attempts to return to the old order. With the glorious February victory over reaction in 1948, the people upheld the gains of the class and national struggle and opened up before themselves the path of building a socialist society. The creation of a new life in our country was no easy matter and could not be done without surmounting obstacles, difficulties and shortcomings. However, it can be said that never before have our people displayed such noble aspirations, such self-sacrifice and heroism as in the years of building socialism. Thus it was, and thus it is, because the working people of our country have rid themselves of exploitation and have become true masters of their own land, free citizens and the real shapers of their own destiny.

The results of the selfless and creative activity of the party, of the working class and of all the working people are embodied in the revolutionary transformations and the values which have been created, which have wholly altered the physiognomy of our country and suffused the life of the people with new socialist content. A just, deeply democratic, progressive, highly humane socialist society has been built in Czechoslovakia of which generations of revolutionaries used to dream and for which they struggled.

Our socialist system is demonstrating its all-round advantages over the old society which existed in the prewar bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic. We are very familiar with precisely that bourgeois democracy which Western propaganda is tirelessly attempting to impose on us as a model of democracy. Political fragmentation, dozens of different parties and groupings and organizations connected with them, the stubborn propagation of illusions about the omnipotence of parliament and the most diverse pseudopatriotic statements about the people as the source of power--which was declared in the constitution of that time--all this and much else was designed to mask the class dominance of the bourgeoisie, the dominance of capital. In essence this was democracy for the numerically small but economically and politically strongest class--the bourgeoisie. This minority--the bankers, employers, big traders, landowners and so forth--dominated the overwhelming majority of society. It was this minority which owned the main means of production and appropriated for itself the fruits of the labor of the exploited people. The frequent changes of government, which were typical of bourgeois Czechoslovakia, altered nothing in the essence of this anti-popular regime.

And what sort of life did the ordinary person have in that vaunted bourgeois democracy? Throughout the entire period of the bourgeoisie's rule, unemployment existed in our country and did not disappear. It reached its peak in the years of the world economic crisis from which bourgeois Czechoslovakia had not recovered even by the time of its downfall. At the beginning of the thirties, even according to official statistics, we had almost a million unemployed. Not only the workers but also many representatives of the intelligentsia suffered because of unemployment. Less than one-fourth of Czechoslovakia's arable land was owned by peasants possessing 5 hectares and less and who made up three-fourths of Czechoslovakia's total number of farms. Punitive measures were used with increasing frequency against the peasants and they were threatened with being driven off the land. Life for the population of the country's economically backward areas was particularly hard, and it was from these areas that the greatest number of people emigrated in search of work abroad, hoping, to escape from poverty and suffering.

All these troubles and misfortunes of the people and the acute social contradictions were solely the consequences of the fact that power in the country belonged to the bourgeoisie. In periods when the contradictions and upheavals were exacerbated, the bourgeoisie did not hesitate to take drastic measures. It curtailed the powers of the parliament, of which it had fervently declared itself a supporter, and abolished those limited democratic freedoms which the constitution provided. The entire period of the bourgeois society's existence was marked by terrorism against the communists and against all progressive forces. The police used to attack striking workers, hunger marchers and demonstrators, and they would open fire, killing dozens of persons. It can be said that similar phenomena exist to this day in the world where the monopolies rule. The essence of imperialism remains the same.

The socialist revolution did away with all this and it is now irrevocably part of the past in Czechoslovakia. With the victory of the revolution, the working class and the working masses took into their own hands the main instruments for realizing their interests and aspirations--the government, the state and also the means of production: plants, fields and the resources of the entire country.

Our experience also showed that the genuine freedom of man can only be guaranteed in a socialist society. True freedom and human rights are impossible where labor remains dependent on capital and where the "freedom" of the rich and of the powers that be to oppress the working man and to keep down and deceive the masses and whole nations has not been eliminated, and where society does not guarantee a person the right to work and to the free all-round development of his personality.

As a result of the socialization of the means of production, the creation of socialist economy and the development of socialist production relations, the positions of the exploiter classes were liquidated for all time in our country. A new class and social structure of society took shape and is developing; at its basis lies the alliance of the working class, cooperative peasantry and working intelligentsia.

The level which has been achieved in the unity and international brotherhood between the Czechs and Slovaks and also of the other nations which constitute the population of Czechoslovakia ranks among the outstanding results of the building of socialism in our country. Our equal nations live in harmony in their common fatherland. Thanks to implementation of the Leninist principle of federation, broad new opportunities have emerged for the further development and rapprochement of the socialist nations.

Socialism guarantees and elevates to an even higher level the civil liberties gained by the people. At the same time it gives the people new freedoms and rights which are decisively changing their social life.

Socialism guarantees the right to work, free from exploitation, the right to fair payment in accordance with the work fulfilled, and the right to the free participation of all the working people in the running of society, the state and the economy of the entire country. Socialism gives everyone the right to education, to medical treatment, to leisure, and to security in old age. These are by no means formal slogans but are, indeed, real freedoms, social confidence and human rights such as capitalism is unable to insure.

Socialism has created an extensive system of fundamental public and social human rights. No one here has to fear that he may find himself alone, without work, without the means to exist and without help if he should need it. Everyone is sure that he will be able to live his life in a worthy fashion without fear of unemployment and other social ills.

The greatest asset of a socialist society is the working man. Therefore material and spiritual resources here serve the all-round development of man, his personality, creative power and abilities. Everything for man and for the good of man--that is the most profound meaning of our struggle for socialism and communism.

The new socialist man not only receives from society but also consciously promotes the growth of society's wealth by his labor and by fulfilling his commitments and takes an active part in the solution of social problems. The system of political parties and public organizations united in the national front and also of elective national committees and representative organs in our country constitutes the democratic foundation which enables the millions of the masses to participate in the running of social life and in the solution of political, economic and cultural questions. Broad socialist democracy is implemented here in diverse forms.

The successes which we have achieved in Czechoslovakia in the task of building socialism are filling our people and our party with a feeling of joy and pride. At the same time we are fully aware that we could not have achieved these successes without the firm alliance with, and cooperation and assistance of, the Soviet Union, which was and remains our best friend and is the main guarantee of our national freedom, state independence and peaceful socialist development. The Czechoslovak people highly value this friendship and alliance which are based on common socialist and communist ideals and goals, and they are fully determined to continue to promote the strengthening of this alliance and friendship.

We know that only in close alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries can we successfully fulfill the difficult but realistic program adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress. This is a program for the further development of socialism, for a new upsurge of our socialist motherland and for an increasingly full and rich life for the Czechoslovak people.

Just as in the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, so too in Czechoslovakia socialism has proved that its political, economic, ideological, cultural and moral principles are triumphing convincingly in the historic struggle against the principles of capitalist society. The achievements of the socialist countries, which are particularly noticeable in contrast with the profound crisis of the capitalist world, show that socialism and communism alone constitute the future for mankind.

Our experience, which was acquired in the building of a socialist society under the conditions of an industrially developed state, is at the same time a contribution to the treasurehouse of the international experience of the revolutionary movement. Our experience confirms that at its basis and in its general features there can be no other path to the liberation of the working people, to genuine democracy and true humanism and to the happiness of the people than the revolutionary path scientifically substantiated by Marx, Engels and Lenin and opened up by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The historic result of the struggle of the international working class is the victorious march of socialism, which was started by the Great October Revolution and has come through all grim ordeals despite all the intrigues and attempts by enemies to liquidate it. Today the new system is developing on a broad international basis. Its advantages and internationalist essence are making themselves felt increasingly vividly and its strength and magnetism are multiplying.

In accordance with its profound democratic and humanist essence, world socialism acts as the main force in the struggle for peace and social progress and serves as the main buttress of the great revolutionary liberation process whose influence, ever since the October Revolution, has been affecting the situation throughout the world on an ever increasing scale and ever more deeply.

The draft USSR constitution which is now at the focus of attention for the entire world public is vivid new [?proof] of the worldwide-historic advantages of socialism. We Czechoslovak communists are inspired by this document, which reflects the tremendous successes of the Soviet people in all spheres, the unprecedented growth of the economic, spiritual and cultural potential of society, and the invaluable experience of the CPSU. We see the draft USSR constitution as a historic pointer for our activity too. In its most important vital features, this document concentrates what we in Czechoslovakia have still to bring about. We see in the draft new USSR constitution a future for which it is worth living and struggling.

Our Communist Party and the people of socialist Czechoslovakia will, as we declared once again at the 15th CPCZ Congress, continue to promote with all our activity a situation whereby the noble ideas of socialism may blaze a trail for themselves with still greater success and socialism may achieve new victories in the struggle for peace and social progress in the interests of man.

CSO: 2400

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

WARSAW CP SECRETARIES' CONSULTATION--A seminar on the results of the Warsaw 11-13 May consultation of the Central Committee secretaries of the fraternal communist and workers parties of the socialist countries was held in Prague yesterday. The participants in the seminar--leading officials of the regional and city party committee and the CPCZ Central Committee institutions--heard a speech delivered by Cestmir Lovetinsky, member of the secretariat and chief of the CPCZ Central Committee political-organizational department, on the results of the consultation and the experience from the development in the consolidation of the fraternal parties' international life [as published]. In his speech Comrade Lovetinsky underscored the importance of utilizing this experience in the practical solution of tasks with which the 15th CPCZ Congress entrusted the party bodies and organizations in order to further develop and strengthen the life of our party. [Text] [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 7 Jul 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

BULGARIA

WESTERN COUNTRIES ACCUSED OF OBSTRUCTING TOURIST INDUSTRY

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 25 May 77 pp 1, 8-9

[Article by Dragomir Lyubomirov: "Who Obstructs Contacts Among People?"]

[Text] The participating countries,

Viewing the development of contacts as an important element in strengthening friendly relations and trust among peoples,

Asserting in connection with their current efforts to improve conditions in this field the significance which they ascribe to humanitarian considerations,

Wishing to continue in this spirit to make efforts with the development of detente for further progress under such circumstances,

And realizing that related problems should be settled by the interested states on a mutually acceptable basis,

Set as their objective to facilitate the freer movement and contacts on an individual and collective, unofficial and official basis, among people, institutions, and organizations of participating states and to assist in the solution of problems of a humanitarian nature arising in this area, and

Declare their readiness to take to this effect measures they would deem suitable and conclude among themselves, whenever necessary, accords or reach agreements.

(From the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe)

The strong desire of the European peoples to live in peace brought about the holding of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which passed a broad program for the further development of their interrelationships in the political, economic, and cultural areas.

The almost 2 years which have passed since have indicated that some reactionary Western circles, speculating on individual facts, are devoting major efforts to hold back the positive development of relations between Western and socialist countries in Europe. Under slogans of "concern" for human rights they are trying to impress the public with the claim that in the socialist countries the people are deprived of the right to travel abroad, that the reuniting of separated families is obstructed, and so on. There is talk of existing visa "difficulties" and "restrictions" in our country, of the "unwillingness" of the socialist countries to adopt a "humane" approach to problems to travels by citizens belonging to the two social systems, and so on. It is ignored in this case that every year millions of Western European citizens visit the socialist countries and see for themselves how false and malicious such propaganda is.

We know that by virtue of its geographic location Bulgaria is a natural crossroads and a lively center for cultural and tourist exchanges. Our country is making a great contribution to the development of good mutual relations in all fields of life in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act. Every one of the millions of annual visitors has seen that Bulgaria has one of the most liberal visa systems in the world. Between 1967 and 1976 our country concluded 10 agreements for the elimination of visas and 4 for an easier visa system with the capitalist and developing countries. The movement of citizens among socialist countries is equally free and visaless. Proposals for the conclusion of such agreements have also been submitted to all NATO members. However, their attitude remains negative. A unilateral visa-free system was proclaimed in 1967 and has been operating for the past 10 years, applicable to all foreign citizens visiting the country as tourists.

Transit passengers, who number several millions every year, obtain their visas with no formalities whatever immediately on demand at any Bulgarian diplomatic or consular mission. Their visas are valid for up to 1 year. Furthermore, they could remain longer in Bulgaria as tourists or for other reasons. All they have to do is declare their intention to the administrator of the hotel in which they are staying without any other formalities, filling additional forms, and so on.

The procedures governing the issuing of entrance visas to foreign citizens visiting Bulgaria not as tourists or in transit have been reduced to the basic minimum. One photograph and a form in one copy is filled. The data required are date of birth, purpose of the trip, and type of vehicle used for the trip.

Our country has stated on several occasions that it is ready to eliminate even these formalities on a reciprocal basis.

The waiting period for an entrance visa has been reduced to 7 days. Visas are issued on the spot to foreigners who are members of delegations, merchants, economic and cultural workers, or participants in international meetings, or in emergencies such as illness, death, and others.

In 3 decades Bulgaria has become an industrial-agrarian country. With every passing year its citizens are living ever better. The economic power of the country has increased. This makes it possible to allocate every year bigger funds for the hundreds of thousands of Bulgarian citizens who travel abroad. The procedure with which they are supplied with the necessary documents for foreign travel has been simplified as well. As a result of the policy pursued in this direction, in 1976 over 700,000 Bulgarian citizens visited other countries. There are few countries in which the state has made possible and provided foreign currency for traveling by such a high percentage of the population.

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe stipulates that in the field of humanitarian and other areas "The participating states intend to contribute to offering broader possibilities for travel by their citizens for personal or professional reasons."

We already indicated the practice followed by Bulgaria in this respect--no visa for tourists and simplification of formalities.

Yet, what is the attitude and practice of the Western European countries, the United States, and Canada who signed the Helsinki documents in terms of simplifying formalities? It could be clearly stated that something substantial is not being done. Formalities have remained almost unchanged. Thus, for example, the issuance of a visa requires a large number of photographs and forms, ranging from three to six. In the forms, containing from 20 to 28 questions, data unrelated to the travel must be provided.

Some Western countries such as Great Britain, the FRG, and France have made proposals on easing the visa systems, claiming that substantial progress is being made in the implementation of the Helsinki obligations. We shall not comment on the previous visa system applied by these countries. Suffice it to indicate that with the proposed facilities for visiting Western European countries the Bulgarian citizen is required to fill from four to six forms with a number of questions, submit an equal number of photographs, and others. Even in requests for a transit visa and without leaving the transit waiting room in the course of his travel (in the United States and Britain) the Bulgarian citizen is asked to provide data on his grandmother, grandfather, grandson, military service, membership in social organizations, and others. Should a Bulgarian citizen visiting or traveling through FRG territory express the wish to extend his stay, which is essentially undesired, he would be asked to submit the same number of

photographs and forms as those required for obtaining the entrance visa, and go to the respective services several times. Bulgarian citizens officially assigned abroad for business, scientific, cultural, or other purposes are treated by the local authorities as private individuals.

These countries issue entrance visas after an average wait of 15 to 30 or more days. In 1976 alone 26 Bulgarian citizens who wished to visit relatives or travel for other reasons were refused entrance visas by the FRG, the United States, and others, while over 500 people received no answer at all.

Some representatives of Western countries are particularly interested in the travels of our citizens. However, before issuing a visa they investigate them closely to determine the extent to which they are politically reliable from their viewpoint. In the United States the issuing of a visa to a citizen of a socialist country or an individual with communist ideas is still determined by a law of the 1950's, remaining from the McCarthy era.

As we pointed out Bulgaria is ready to discuss all these matters with all interested countries.

Another question in the group of "humanitarian problems" is that of mixed marriages.

In terms of marriages and families Bulgarian legislation has no restrictions based on political, social, racial, religious, or other characteristics. For this reason no changes in the current practice are needed. Naturally, as a socialist state, Bulgaria cannot remain indifferent to the type of marriage that may be concluded and its stability. Bulgarian citizens who marry a foreigner while traveling abroad must have settled all their obligations related to the support of children and parents, education expenses, and others.

Other countries have similar practices as well. However, in terms of mixed marriages, some countries have legislative discriminations which Bulgaria fails to understand such as: The legal requirement for the wife to take the citizenship of her husband; Citizenship is one of the conditions for employment by a member of a mixed marriage, and so on. In the FRG, France, Austria, Switzerland, and others pressure is applied on our citizens entered in a mixed marriage to abandon their Bulgarian citizenship as a stipulation for finding or continuing their employment, extension of their stay, and others. Such a discriminatory policy grossly contradicts the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Requests for marriages whose faulty nature is unquestionable have been made and it is natural that such requests are rejected. What kind of a marriage could it be when a citizen of the FRG and a citizen of another

country would file documents simultaneously requesting a civil marriage with the same person, a citizen of the Bulgarian People's Republic, or whenever an Italian citizen submits documents requesting permission to marry two Bulgarian citizens. We should point out that in both these cases the respective embassies actively supported a positive answer.

Another humanitarian area considered in the Helsinki Final Act is the "reunification" of separated families and the creation of conditions for the traveling of parents and relatives. These problems are resolved by the laws of our country.

However, there are Bulgarian citizens who are adventurers and who have escaped to the West abandoning small children. These unconscientious people who have rejected their homeland are asking for the return of their grown-up children for whom they have not cared at all. Naturally, such claims will continue to be ignored.

It is a puzzling and strange fact that the Western circles we mentioned show no concern or humanity toward minors and sick children whose parents are in Bulgaria and who are in their countries. Requests for returning the children to their parents drag on for years.

After the father returned, a California court in the United States made a child a ward of the court so that he could remain in the United States ignoring the wish of his parents and the fact that he is a Bulgarian citizen. Furthermore, the consular convention concluded between the two countries was ignored in appointing a guardian. According to Article 37 of the convention the Bulgarian embassy in Washington should have been informed officially of a hearing in order to appoint a guardian for the child until his return to Bulgaria.

What kind of humane approach is it if for 3 years a mother has tried unsuccessfully to take away her child from, as she states herself, "people without conscience who are separating us from him by force," in Italy. Parents have been unable to find out the address of their sick daughter in Italy for 1 year even though the local authorities must know it.

Tens of other examples could be indicated clearly showing who hinders contacts among people.

5003
CSO: 2200

SLOVAK DAILY ON CARTER'S HALT OF B-1 PRODUCTION

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jul 77 p 7 AU

[CTK dispatch: "Carter Refused Permission to Mass Production of B-1 Planes; Backdoor Left Open"]

[Text] New York, CTK--President Carter's decision not to permit the mass production of B-1 strategic bombers was received by the American public with relief and surprise, but also with many questions.

Recently the price of one such plane rose to \$117 million, so that it has become the most expensive fighter plane in history. The cost for the production and operation of an air squadron of 244 bombers, as demanded by the Air Force, has been estimated at \$100 billion.

Apart from the military circles and various rightwing organizations, an expensive campaign was also unleashed by the firm Rockwell International, the main firm among the producers of this plane and the one that skillfully distributed the subcontracts among 49 states and tried to prove that both the industry and the working people would profit from the production. Most of the members of Congress and of the administration have succumbed to this campaign, as testified to by the recent vote in the House of Representatives which approved of designating the sum of \$1.4 billion for the production of further B-1 planes for next year with 243 votes in favor and 178 votes against this measure. However, the study worked out by J. Anderson from the University of Michigan unequivocally proves that 87 percent of the congressional constituencies would suffer losses by producing the new bomber, since they would pay in taxes more than they would receive for fulfilling the production contracts.

Carter, probably concerned about his popularity, was unable to completely ignore the voices of the adversaries of the B-1, but it seems that his decision is less a victory of common sense than it is the results of the reflections of American military strategists, especially since the President acknowledged that both the development and the tests of the new bomber would continue and reserved the right to change his decision in case "relations with the Soviet Union worsen."

CSO: 2400

CPSL DAILY ON ANTI-SOVIET MOCK EXERCISE IN WASHINGTON

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jul 77 p 7 AU

["/JUL/"-signed note in the column "On the Margin": "The Psychosis of Hatred"]

[Text] Can you imagine that last week Soviet military units invaded Washington? To tell the truth, even the Americans, who are used to all kinds of things, have been surprised by this; but what is the use, it simply was so. Except that the role of "Soviet soldiers" was played by the infamous American rangers or "Green Berets," in other words by soldiers who had undergone training in the most brutal methods of professional killers. This entire disgusting spectacle was dreamt up by the Pentagon. The killers, dressed in imitation Soviet uniforms, rushed all over Washington in military vehicles and snatched unsuspecting American soldiers who had just gone for a walk down the street or were going somewhere on a duty assignment. They thus snatched 114 soldiers and brought them to the "POW center," where slogans and inscriptions in Russian, as well as Soviet state emblems were hung everywhere and where Russian music was flowing out of loudspeakers. There they submitted their colleagues from the U.S. Army to unbelievably cruel interrogations. The American press reported all this with a serious mien as important "maneuvers." For instance, THE WASHINGTON POST even published pictures of "prisoners" kneeling in the mud or crawling on the ground in front of the "Soviet guards," or of prisoners who were bound. The killers played their role with great enthusiasm and thus several dozen "prisoners" found themselves in the hospital after this "maneuver." This, of course, was not simulated and happened somehow outside the script.

This disgusting and nauseating spectacle had no other purpose than to evoke feelings of fear and hatred of the Soviet Union. The people in the Pentagon can be proud--again they have discovered a method of disseminating lies and a psychosis promoting distrust in the possibilities of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States. This is a really original "contribution" of the American administration to the fulfillment of the CSCE's final document. It is a good thing that President James Carter recently submitted to the Congress a 93-page report on the fulfillment of this document, from which it follows that only the United States has a truly serious attitude toward this document!

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR'S KORCAK ON IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE, ENERGY, MANPOWER SHORTAGE

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 1 Jul 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Speech by J. Korcak, head of the CPCZ Central Committee and the National Front Central Committee delegation, to the Czechoslovak People's Party Congress in Prague on 30 June]

[Excerpts] Military disarmament is definitely not and cannot be ideological disarmament. It is also in the interest of peace that we step up the aggressiveness and the effectiveness of the ideological struggle. We are aware that the capitalist world, too, is and will be waging it. However, the struggle of ideas must not grow into ideological warfare, it must not poison the international atmosphere and lead to interference in the internal affairs of others--it must not evoke war hysteria.

At present the socialist countries are unitedly and resolutely opposing the endeavors of the imperialist forces wishing--through a broad campaign around the false slogan of the defense of human rights--to achieve at least something of that which they did not succeed in achieving through military blackmail.

By developing a broadly based campaign around the delicate issues of human rights anticommunism has counted on ultimately succeeding in assuming the offensive and at the same time in provoking differences of opinion in the leftists' camp. Life, however, shows that their strategic plans are not coming off. The socialist countries are responding to attacks not with defense, but with counterattacks, with a still more active utilization of the possibilities of their historical initiative.

We have an extensive industrial base, but the procurement of raw materials is becoming increasingly difficult. It is becoming increasingly difficult for us to assert ourselves in world markets and this depends, above all, on the high quality of the products offered. Our economy makes considerable demands on energy, and in our households, too, we want to have enough warmth, light and ever more efficient appliances. For this we are expending great resources, but neither our own resources nor the feasibility of imports are unlimited. The only realistic way is to economize on energy.

As a highly industrial and at the same time densely populated country we have a lot of worries about the protection of environment, insuring adequate quantities of drinking water and clean air. This is neither a simple nor an inexpensive matter. We have adopted good laws for this, but we have much in reserve also in this respect as regards responsibility, initiative and the economic handling of reserves. The fact that our 15-million strong state, with a high level of its population employed, suffers a considerable manpower shortage makes it difficult to cope with these problems.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IMPERIALIST PSYCHOLOGICAL PLOYS WHICH MUST BE WATCHED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Slovak No 5, May 77 pp 131-145

[Article by Viktor Borsky and Gustav Dianiska, Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy, Bratislava: "The Psychological Warfare of Imperialism"]

[Text] Under contemporary conditions marked by the existence of a world divided along class lines the forces of imperialism are resorting to the use of a whole range of measures, including a host of the most highly refined methods and techniques, in a stubborn effort to prevent socialist transformations throughout the world, to undermine the foundations of socialist society, and to restore their world dominion.

While in the 1950's the tactics of the struggle against socialism and communism were based on the crudest kind of nuclear blackmail and on the various theories of the "roll-back" and "containment" of communism, at the beginning of the 1960's the successes achieved by the Soviet Union in the field of nuclear weaponry and missile technology caused a fundamental change in the military-political doctrines of imperialism. The doctrine of "liberation" and "mass reprisal" had to give way to the concept of "flexible response." And even though the forces of imperialism to this day have not yet rejected the option of resolving conflicts by military means¹, they are being forced to acknowledge the change that has taken place in the balance of power, and so they are transferring the thrust of their efforts into the field of what is referred to as political or "psychological" warfare. In the eyes of western theoreticians this kind of warfare has the same characteristics as a real or "hot" war, and it is considered to be of equal importance.

A typical manifestation of these theories is contained in the American military regulation FM 33-5, which deals with so-called psychological operations. The introductory part of this regulation reads as follows: "Peacetime has taken on a new and different form. It is no longer characterized by the existence of tranquillity and harmony and instead has merely become a period of less violent warfare, a period in which predominantly nonmilitary means are used to achieve certain political goals."²

The term nonmilitary means refers to the use of subversive propaganda and a whole range of other psychological warfare measures. While during the first half of the twentieth century these means merely played a supporting role in furthering the military operations of imperialism, in the second half of the century they are assuming a separate and independent identity as a means of waging war in peacetime.

Ideological Sabotage and "Psychological" Warfare

Psychological warfare and psychological operations are to a certain extent an integral part of the ideological struggle that is now being waged on a worldwide scale between the two social systems of socialism and capitalism. At the present time the class struggle in this area has acquired an unusual dimension.

The reactionary essence of bourgeois ideology coupled with its antagonistic opposition to the interests of the masses subject to its influence makes it impossible for the bourgeoisie to engage in an open and scientifically grounded contest of ideas and theoretical concepts, and so it is resorting to fabrications, demagoguery, deception, provocations, and so on. "In contrast with our ideology, bourgeois ideology has nothing positive to offer modern man. This is the ideology of a class that is disappearing from the world scene. This is the reason behind its pessimism, its fear of the future, and its reactionary ideas. This is the reason for its virulent anticommunism. This is the ideology which now reflects the general crisis of capitalism.³" It is therefore understandable that such an ideology is unable to engage in an open contest of opposing ideological ideas. On the contrary, most of its attention is focused on working for the disruption of the sense of community enjoyed by the people and for the destruction of their socialist consciousness.

Ideological sabotage thus represents a specific bourgeois form of the ideological struggle and is also playing an increasingly more prominent role in the psychological warfare being waged by the forces of imperialism. In practical terms ideological sabotage consists of disruptive propaganda carried out by various means, forms, and methods--running the gamut of radio and television broadcasts, the press, the dissemination of subversive literature, all the way down to the spreading of false rumors through whispering campaigns. It is through the use of these very forms and methods that ideological sabotage is made an integral part of psychological warfare, and as such it occupies a position of special importance in the arsenal of this warfare.

The psychological warfare and the psychological operations conducted by the imperialists go beyond the bounds of the ideological struggle and ideological sabotage. This fact is borne out by an analysis of the theory

and practice of psychological warfare. For example, in his book entitled "Political Warfare" the American political scientist John Scott states: "Political warfare is synonymous with psychological warfare. Its main objective is the weakening and appropriate destruction of an opponent through the use of diplomatic maneuvers, economic pressure, disinformation, provocations, intimidation, sabotage, terror, and isolation from friends and allies.⁴" This description gives a clear breakdown of the range of instruments used in psychological warfare, which in the view of the imperialists has become a permanent feature of peaceful coexistence.

The array of measures and means as well as the goals of psychological warfare have been aptly portrayed by the definition offered by the Soviet writer A. F. Bobikov. Bobikov stresses that the term "psychological warfare" can be understood as referring to the use of all means and measures of a disruptive ideological, propagandistic, foreign policy, economic, or military nature, among others, by the imperialist countries and the commanders of their armed forces in times of peace as well as in times of war for the purpose of exercising an ideological-political and moral-psychological influence that will sway the opinions of populations and members of armed forces in a desirable direction.⁵ One might only add that this amounts to the use of disruptive means and measures designed to bring about the ideological disarmament and the reduction of the psychic resistance of civilian populations and soldiers, the breakdown of their morale and capability to mount an effective resistance, the creation of those kinds of attitudes and a climate of public opinion and the encouragement of those kinds of action and behavior which would be compatible with the political and military goals of imperialism.

Of the classical forms of propaganda which were once considered to be the most important and the main instrument of psychological warfare there is now only one which is being used with ever increasing frequency. Nowadays there is more and more talk about "propaganda through action." This has to do with measures which are considered to include political, military, economic, social, or other actions that help to achieve the goals of psychological warfare. These measures can be carried out independently or in conjunction with traditional propaganda campaigns. With ever increasing frequency the practice of psychological warfare is coming to include actions which take the form of incidents or "spontaneous" events, demonstrations, provocations, unauthorized flights over foreign territory, military exercises and reviews, material support for opposition forces, the creation of dissident groups, and so on. Terror has gained a secure place in the system of psychological warfare, and psychological operations have become an integral part of the so-called "unconventional warfare" and counter-insurgency programs of the USA which are designed to eliminate progressive governments and movements in various parts of the world.

"Psychological Warfare" and its Goals

The term "psychological warfare" emerged for the first time during World War II. One of the theoretical origins of this concept was the publication of L. Farago entitled "German Psychological Warfare" which appeared in New York in 1941. The concept of "psychological warfare" became a standard term of reference in particular among American theoreticians and practitioners of military propaganda.

After 1945 there was an unprecedented upsurge of interest in the theories and methods of conducting Psychological warfare. Works were published which at first dealt with the history of propaganda and the ways in which it was used during the World War II years. Later on, works came out dealing with the theoretical issues, forms, and methods of propaganda and psychological persuasion during the period of the cold war, which the forces of imperialism unleashed against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries during the second half of the 1940's. "Beginning with World War II, psychological operations became the principal weapon of peacetime, since peace itself had merely become a period of less violent warfare.⁶"

In recent years the substantive nature of the concept "psychological warfare" has gone through certain changes. While L. Farago originally described it as being merely "a way of working with information for the purpose of influencing opinions" and "organized persuasion by nonviolent means,⁷" W. Daugherty and M. Janowitz later put it more precisely by saying that, "psychological warfare can be defined as the planned use of propaganda and other means with a view to gaining an influence over the opinions, behavior, emotions, and attitudes of hostile, neutral, or friendly social groups in order to win their support for national interests and goals.⁸" This definition subsequently became an official definition as used in the American military regulation FM 33-1 of June 1968, and to this day it has not been changed.

The forms and methods of psychological warfare are designed to undermine the moral and political strength of an opponent and his allies abroad or in the aggressor's homeland. In essence this strength consists of two factors.

First, there is the objective factor, which is a function of sociohistorical, economic, and class-political elements as defined by the objective nature of a given society. This is a critical factor, since it directly determines the morale and combat readiness of the army and population of a given country. By the same token, this factor defines the potential and the action radius of the subjective factor within a given social system.

Second, there is the subjective factor, consisting of those elements which organize and influence the opinions, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior of

the masses, i.e., the educational system, the activities and influence of political parties and organizations, mass communications media, and culture.

Both factors are reflected in the psychological make-up of individuals and groups, in their will to achieve set goals, to fight for progress, or to participate in an armed struggle in an effort to bring that struggle to a victorious conclusion. The forms and methods of psychological warfare are therefore aimed at influencing the psychic make-up of the individual in conjunction with the use of all means which form a part of the subjective factor of moral strength, especially the systems of communications and education. The manipulation of public opinion and the creation of mass public moods represent one of the major tools of persuasion and social control in capitalist societies. Only by means of this finely tuned system is it possible, or rather it often only seems to be possible, to compensate to a certain extent for the failures of capitalist society in the ideological, political, and especially economic fields. At the same time it makes it possible for this society to compensate for its inability to come out ahead in its competition with the progressive forces of the world, guided by the Marxist-Leninist world view, within the context of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The theories of psychological warfare are usually concerned with the following questions: How to influence the way of life, education, thinking, emotions, and character traits of individuals or groups; how to take advantage of existing habits, attitudes, prejudices, and stereotypes in order to achieve necessary objectives; how will individuals or groups who are the objects of this influence react to certain specific situations (which arise spontaneously or are created artificially) and certain environmental conditions; what changes will take place in the perceptions and behavior of people in response to these situations and conditions?

At the same time these theories are based on the crude biological interpretation of social phenomena and the pragmatic perception of the human psyche. These theories regard basic human instincts and emotions as being the critical motives behind all human actions and behavior. A wide-ranging effort is made to take advantage of those specific personal mental characteristics and traits which are actively cultivated by bourgeois society and which often still survive under socialism (nationalism, various prejudices, illusions, religious feelings, acquisitiveness). An effort is also made to take advantage of suggestibility as a specific characteristic of human thought in certain situations, certain psychic traits of young people (their lack of experience in life, their readiness to jump to hasty conclusions, radicalism, the dominance of emotions over reasoned judgment, their need to be active), and the characteristics of certain other social groups and strata.

The purpose of these attempts to influence basic human emotions is to create contradictions between higher psychic functions, which are the result of societal psychic conditioning, and the lower psychic functions, which are closely tied to elementary biotic needs. By acting on these emotions the officials of the psychological warfare apparatus seek to engender uncertainty as to the course of future events and a sense of fear for one's life or livelihood and thus to make the objects of this influence more susceptible to disinformation and offers of alternative solutions of an economic or political nature.

While the genesis of the theories of psychological warfare is based on the instinctivist theories of McDougal and Freudian psychoanalysis, the subsequent period of their complete development is characterized by the theories of behaviorism. These behaviorist theories gave rise to the mechanistic theory of propaganda and certain other methods of psychological operations. For example, Jacques Ellul observes that: "People cannot simply be told that they should behave this way and not that way, rather it is necessary to employ psychological stimuli which will engender an appropriate response. Generally speaking, this is not a question of proclaiming ideas, but rather of creating certain feelings, emotions, and irrational, mystical impulses.⁹" This thesis is derived entirely from the bourgeois behaviorist theory according to which all human behavior and activity is perceived solely as being a set of organic responses to certain external stimuli. Consequently, most western theoretical works dealing with propaganda, especially American works in this field, are concerned solely with describing presumed stimuli and the subsequent anticipated responses, without bothering to go into a more detailed explanation of the behavior and actions of target individuals under a given set of conditions.

The positivistic methodology of the theory of psychological warfare is leading to the accumulation of an extensive collection of experimental material, the results of which are being processed by means of mathematical and statistical methods without any regard for the social or ideological context of the phenomena under study. Certain western authors who are critical of this approach have even gone so far as to call this "mathematical cretinism." Overriding importance is not attached to man's moral and psychic qualities or to the quality of the social and economic conditions under which he lives, but rather to the quantity and deliberateness of the forms and means by which his actions and behavior are influenced.

This outlook led the entire theory of psychological warfare into a blind alley. The inability to understand how the human psyche is conditioned by social factors leads to a certain amount of neurotic behavior in the application of the various procedures, forms, and methods of psychological warfare. This neurosis is manifested in the rapid alternation of various doctrines and

in the sudden shifts in their orientation. We have even encountered situations in which programs of psychological operations are suddenly cancelled while still in progress.

By way of example we might cite the programming policy changes at the inflammatory radio station Radio Free Europe [RFE] in terms of its broadcasts to the CSSR since 1970. Up until January 1972 (when the results of the elections to representative bodies in the CSSR were evaluated) Radio Free Europe kept trying to sustain the trends that emerged during the crisis years of 1968-1969. It tried to keep alive the emotional preoccupation of certain segments of the population, to put forward unfulfillable demands, to organize the splintered rightist forces, and it engaged in a campaign of gross disinformation, which was based on the observations and comments of certain illegal leaflets disseminated by the rightists during the crisis period.

Later on, roughly toward the end of 1974, it reverted to the tactics of the period 1963-1968, i.e., to tactics aimed at the gradual breakdown of society, the promulgation of allegedly attractive alternatives, and the spreading of ideas about the "improvement" of socialism and Marxism in general. To some extent 1975 marked the return to the use of methods based on dealing from a position of strength, methods which were quite familiar from the cold war period. Once again slogans were being expounded according to which a fictitious opposition was supposed to have been formed, and direct appeals for resistance were broadcast.¹⁰ A special program was also broadcast for the benefit of draftees entering the Czechoslovak People's Army, the contents of which were lifted directly from some of the leaflets used by the American interventionists in Korea and Vietnam, the text of which was reproduced in a book by Paul Linebarger entitled "Psychological Warfare" (first edition published in New York in 1948).

This "hard line" suddenly changed once again during the first half of 1976, when the news media of the socialist countries and most of the western press published the revelations concerning the plans of this center of psychological warfare and ideological sabotage as well as about the behind-the-scenes role in its management played to this day by the American intelligence service, the CIA. It turned out that the bourgeois propaganda which claimed that the Helsinki accords were advantageous only to the socialist countries did not generate a very positive response among the public. People attach great value to world peace, and so they are most sympathetic toward those who consistently live up to the principles of peaceful coexistence. Consequently, bourgeois propaganda and its agent RFE are trying to prove that it is primarily the West which is consistently fulfilling the resolutions of the Helsinki conference and that the socialist countries are in fact violating the Helsinki accords.¹¹

In this connection the American government is doing everything it can in an effort to conceal the true nature of the inflammatory espionage

transmitter RFE and its sister station "Radio Liberty." At the same time their activities are being brought into line as much as possible with the thesis which the American government wants to advocate at this year's Belgrade meeting. This thesis holds that: "Both radio stations are contributing to the relaxation of international tensions, and their activities are consistent with the resolutions of the Helsinki conference in the area of exchanges of information." As a result, there were a great many management personnel changes at these two radio stations during 1976. Certain programming changes have also been carried out, especially in terms of the structure and tone of some of the program offerings.

The programs being broadcast by these stations are focusing special attention on issues related to the so-called third basket of the Helsinki conference. Bourgeois propaganda is making an all-out effort to "portray Western leaders as champions in the struggle for civil liberties and the exchange of cultural values and for all other noble humanist goals.¹²" The anti-communist power centers of the world are having made to order "facts" which purport to prove that the socialist countries are afraid of the truth, hindering the "freedom of information," and so on. This slanderous campaign, which these power centers, including, among others, RFE and Radio Liberty, have been waging intensively for the past several months, was also augmented by the pamphlet "Charter 77," which crudely and falsely vilifies the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the revolutionary achievements of its people.¹³

The new campaign launched by the anti-communist centers, one element of which is represented by the aforementioned pamphlet written by derelicts and self-appointed authorities in the CSSR, presumes that the issues of freedom, human rights, and so on are of vital concern to all working people and to all progressive and democratically inclined people. By relying on vague, cosmopolitan phrases it seeks to deny the class-oriented nature and meaning of these exalted and vital values, and, after the fashion of Goebbels-style propaganda, it directs attention away from the crimes of international imperialism and away from its profound economic and political crisis. It fosters the illusion that the socialist countries are afraid to engage in an open debate with the capitalist countries at the upcoming meeting in Belgrade. However, the real purpose of this campaign lies in the attempt to prevent this meeting or any other program of action from contributing to any further positive changes for the benefit of peace and progress.

The reactionary essence and goals of psychological warfare forces the bourgeoisie to deal with the question of its effectiveness in a manner that does not take into consideration its class and political nature. It is precisely the psychological aspect of psychological warfare that now strikes the bourgeoisie as being the most suitable means available for concealing and camouflaging its true nature. It is this attitude which

makes it possible to artificially assign a higher priority to psychological principles than to social principles, as well as permitting the selection of the most advantageous forms and methods for influencing its target public.

Psychology in the Theory and Practice of "Psychological Warfare"

Bourgeois psychologists try to find the psychologically vulnerable or weak points of a given individual, group, or society, and on this basis they develop models of individual or group behavior and estimate response modes. This enables them to recommend the most efficient forms and methods of propagandistic or other persuasion.

In this connection some western authors describe psychology as a "combat tool of modern warfare," as did, for example, G. Grosjean in an article published in the Swiss journal ALLGEMEINE SCHWEIZERISCHE MILITÄRZEITSCHRIFT,¹⁴ or even as a "weapon" per se, according to the textbook "Military Psychology" written by general H. C. Walters.¹⁵ In most publications dealing with psychological warfare that have been published recently in the West a corresponding thesis is advanced to the effect that psychological warfare and its component--psychological operations--are a strategic tool, and as such they are subject to military and political planning at the national level. This is a readily observable fact in the practice of most of the countries that are members of the North Atlantic pact.

Imperialism is seeking to use psychological manipulation as a means of compensating for the ideological and philosophical vacuum of western society, for the total disintegration of its value system. A large number of the theories of psychological warfare, which in the West are passed off as being psychological in nature, are in essence ideological theories. In fact, the inability to devise effective means of ideological persuasion leads to the abuse of the discoveries of psychology and to their mechanical application in the practice of bourgeois propaganda. In reality, however, psychology, as an element of the system of psychological warfare, continues to be nothing more than an auxiliary science, the discoveries of which are divorced from the class essence and the material life of society. As the French author M. Megret has written, psychology has become "the servant of official policy."¹⁶

Not only has the entire apparatus of the news media at the disposal of western governments been placed into the service of psychological warfare, but so too has the extensive scientific research establishment which is concerned with the principles, forms, and methods of the ideological and psychological persuasion of the masses. Psychological warfare has become a fashionable and well paid profession. A multitude of institutions of the most diverse professional orientations are taking part in the further development of its theory, including a whole panoply of sociological,

psychological, historical, anthropological, and even mathematical centers, most of which are located at major western universities. The justification for all this, aside from the ideological weakness of the [Western] political system referred to above, is expressed by the argument that the methods of psychological warfare make it possible to achieve military-political objectives even under circumstances characterized by the so-called nuclear stalemate, with minimal material costs and minimal visibility in terms of the participation of the capitalist countries in certain psychological warfare operations.

By definition, psychological warfare emphasizes the objective of effecting changes in the views, public opinion, and attitudes of target individuals or population groups and creating cultural patterns of ideas and behavior that accord with the ideals of the so-called western community. In essence this amounts to an attempt to refute the progressive materialist world view and to establish an idealistic philosophical structure. The only way in which this philosophical structure can be changed is through the exertion of parallel and simultaneous influences on both human thought processes and human emotions. The effective exercise of this kind of influence is indeed rendered feasible by the discoveries that have been made concerning the principles of mental activity and the principles governing the development of the human personality, which are objects of study in the field of psychology. The various methods and forms employed by psychological warfare are intended to effect necessary changes or to set in motion processes which lead to changes in the realm of the cognitive and volitional processes in the emotional sphere of target persons. Current theories in this field are trying to take advantage of a whole range of discoveries concerning the inducement of these changes. It would be a mistake to presume that the methods of psychological warfare are confined solely to applications in terms of the emotional influencing and suasion of basic human instincts and feelings.

In view of the changes that are taking place in the international situation and in response to social developments in the socialist countries the psychological warfare that is now being waged by the forces of imperialism is geared toward the exercise of long-term influences by means of so-called strategic operations. These operations are aimed at weakening the socialist social system, the breakdown of the party and government apparatus and organizations, the subversion of friendly ties with foreign countries, and the fostering of long-term economic decay for the purpose of disrupting and weakening social harmony within a given target country. The primary objective of these operations that are now being carried on is "to weaken ties between the socialist countries themselves and between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union for the ultimate purpose of promoting the formation of governments that are independent of Moscow's control" (from the policy guidelines governing RFE's broadcasting to the CSSR).

The main ingredient of this long-range program devoted to influencing developments in the socialist countries consists in the effort to bring about certain changes in conscious thought processes, i.e., in perceptions of certain problems, and thereby to gain eventual control over the views and attitudes of target individuals.

As an example of these kinds of operations one might cite the long-standing organized campaign devoted to the delivery and dissemination of subversive literature on the territory of the CSSR and other socialist countries. The purpose of this operation is to provide for the greatest possible circulation in the socialist countries of political disinformation and the ideas and views of the so-called free world in order to promote "an internal dialogue within Eastern Europe.¹⁷" It is interesting to note that between 1960 and 1970 more than 3,000 separate titles of various books, magazines, and leaflets, totaling around 310,000 copies, were illegally sent to the CSSR alone.

Psychological operations of this type count on the ever-present need for news and information, which is especially prevalent among young people and the intelligentsia. The same goal, i.e., to change attitudes through the introduction of "new" and seemingly sensational information, was also shared by the campaign which was timed to coincide with the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the end of World War II and the 25th anniversary of February 1948. These campaigns, in which both the western radio stations and most of the bourgeois press took part, took advantage of the general falsification of historical events and the unflagging curiosity of the popular masses, especially young people, about the events of the last war and the period in which the foundations of socialism were laid in Czechoslovakia. These campaigns assumed that the older generation had already become confused about certain facts and that young people did not have any personal experience of the events of 30 years ago on the basis of which they would be able to realize that all of this was nothing more than disinformation.

An important role in the long-range program to influence developments in the socialist countries is also played by what is known as sociological propaganda, which employs cultural contexts in order to propagate a hostile ideology. It is intended to encourage the adoption of the so-called American or western life-style by designated groups, in addition to promoting the internalization of the standards, views, and attitudes of the society which originated this life-style. This kind of propaganda combines elements of verbal and non-verbal communication (music, fashions) and is effective in population groups in which the value system of socialist society is not firmly established. This fact makes it possible to introduce essential new elements into this propaganda, for example, the creation of pseudo-needs and interests that are prevalent in bourgeois society.

The youth of the socialist countries is one of the target groups of this long-range program. The centers of ideological sabotage, applying in

practice the principles of "sociological propaganda," are trying to accommodate the interest of young people in modern music and in certain kinds of appealing news and feature stories, while at the same time trying to form small groups of young people who are negatively inclined toward the socialist system and the ideals of communism. For example, Radio Free Europe places a great deal of emphasis on the formation of small groups made up of young people who meet together to listen to RFE's so-called musical afternoon programs. This approach is based on their finding that the necessary results are usually not achieved when young people listen to these radio broadcasts by themselves. But when they are organized into a group (the entire group does not have to be gathered around a single radio set), which has a chance to engage in discussions (oral or written) at the conclusion of such radio programs, the effect of group suggestion is achieved, which is further reinforced and heightened by the information relayed by the radio program.

These centers are especially interested in the formation of informal, spontaneous groups of young people. The people who are the pacesetters and serve as the leaders of these small groups are often individuals who are socially delinquent or who have already acquired criminal records. They influence the development and activities of these groups both through their own behavior, which is based on normative concepts that are distorted by exposure to western models, as well as through their verbal exhortations, supplemented by the jargon propagated by the centers of ideological sabotage (abstract freedom, demoralization, a social behavior as a genuine form of modern heroism). These very same small groups of fanatically obsessed young people, led by criminal individuals, formed the active core of some of the mob incidents during which criminal acts were committed during the crisis years of 1968-1969 in the CSSR.

Even though in recent years we have been able to witness a certain shift toward a more rational emphasis in imperialist psychological operations, their essential element dedicated to the exertion of an emotional effect on the thinking of target persons and groups remains intact. This topic is addressed in a characteristic fashion by the American author B. Szunyogh: "Intellectual motivation and logical persuasion are of no value as far as propaganda is concerned. The only ideas that are truly infectious are loaded with emotional impact. The control of the masses in political and ideological life is insured by the emotion-laden power of suggestion, and not by rational motivation or arid logic.¹⁸" L. Frazer, one of the classic scholars of bourgeois propaganda, recommends the exploitation of the following emotions and instincts: fear, greed, vanity, the yearn for adventure, and the sex drive.¹⁹

Emotionalism continues to be a fundamental requirement that must be met by all bourgeois propaganda campaigns. This is borne out by an analysis

of the program themes selected by RFE for its broadcasts, which most often include the following: the evocation of fear for the future, fear of the threat of war, feelings of uncertainty, pessimism and hopelessness, and so on. A regular practice is to provide for the systematic indoctrination of the consumer approach to life, the glorification of anti-social tendencies such as stealing, appeals to greediness, nationalist and chauvinist slogans. The highest priority is assigned to emotional anti-Sovietism, the proportions of which are on the same scale as the mass hatred proclaimed by fascist propaganda during World War II.

One of the basic emotional conditions that is a target of the tactics of psychological warfare is fear and anxiety. On this basis bourgeois theoreticians have formulated principles and methods for the persuasion of people through the use of intimidation and terror. Nuclear weapons and military power play a fundamental role in this regard. In spite of the fact that the USA is among the co-authors of the United Nations Charter, which in 1945 condemned the use of force in the settlement of international disputes, the experience of the past 31 years has demonstrated that the United States resorts not only to the threat of the use of military force, but also goes so far as to actually use military force in limited conflicts.

During the past 30 years the use of terror against individuals has been resorted to just as frequently as a form of psychological warfare waged against the progressive forces of the world. As M. Silverman and P. M. Jackson have written, "terror is regarded as a supplementary tactic of conventional and unconventional warfare.²⁰" It has turned out to be a standard tool for "resolving" certain situations not only in countries which from the American viewpoint are regarded as being "hostile," but also in friendly Western countries. Terror was a widely used tactic prior to the rightist putsch in Chile, in Portugal, and in Argentina. The murder of communists and functionaries of progressive organizations and burning down of buildings and offices have become standard practices on the part of the organs of psychological warfare.

We have cited only a few of the typical forms and methods of psychological warfare by means of which the reactionary forces are making an effort to take advantage of the findings made in the field of psychology in order to mold and manipulate human consciousness. Their effectiveness is a function of the degree of philosophical maturity among target individuals and groups. The Soviet author V. L. Artemov has written that, "Propaganda victimizes those people who do not feel bound by group standards, who only have very poorly developed attitudes and views, and who show no interest in community affairs.²¹" Thus, one might suppose that the arguments advanced by psychological operations would have no serious effect whatever in a collective of people who think along socialist lines, people who possess a firm Marxist-Leninist world view and who live by a system of standards that is consistent with the principles of a socialist society.

On the contrary, however, the effects of hostile propaganda and the other forms and methods of psychological operations will be quite clearly manifested in the case of some individuals and groups with vaguely defined attitudes toward the social system whose needs and interests are determined primarily by western models and who are dominated by individuals whose reference groups are in the capitalist countries. This fact sets the bounds within which it is possible to achieve the objectives of psychological warfare by means of various psychological procedures.

If in this connection we are to give some thought to the problems related to mounting an effective resistance against psychological warfare, then we must inevitably rank as a key problem the question of how to create dependable ideological "barriers" in the form of the Marxist-Leninist world view and the belief in communism. The process of molding these qualities should help to make sure that our citizens "will be able to correctly gauge the significance of every situation so as to distinguish between the real values of socialism and pseudo-values, so as to always know what needs to be ardently defended, strengthened, and developed, and so as to never fall victim to the various insidious methods of ideological destruction which the forces of anti-communism employ with such skill.²²"

In view of the fact that the agents of psychological warfare and ideological sabotage use such highly refined forms and methods, it is necessary in conjunction with the development of the scientific world view and the ideological convictions of our people to also shape and develop their ideological and political fortitude. The point of departure for this integrated approach is formed by the common class interests of the working class. It is characterized by sound ethical principles, consistency, and decisiveness in the evaluation of deeds, by a realistic and optimistic approach to understanding reality. An integral component of this approach is an attitude of unrelenting opposition to bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

Psychological warfare is the faithful servant of the policies of the ruling classes in the imperialist countries. It is an emanation of bourgeois ideology, which is characterized by anti-communism and in particular by anti-Sovietism. Anti-communism is the principal ideological and political weapon of the contemporary forces of imperialist reaction; it is an expression of the utter decadence of bourgeois ideology. The spirit of anti-communism is also the source of the current imperialist psychological warfare, its goals, substance, forms, and methods. The most important focal point of contemporary anti-communism is anti-Sovietism, which today represents the main element in the strategic operations of psychological warfare. In this regard it is important to take note of the fact that psychological operations make a careful effort to conceal their true goals and the open nature of their inherent anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The process

encompassed by the relaxation of international tensions and the major opportunities afforded by this process during 1977 were the cause of serious concern in extreme reactionary circles in the West. As a result, the anti-communist centers are endeavoring to check this process, to take the world back to the cold war, to the brink of military disaster.

Even though nothing will be gained by use of psychological warfare as a means to achieve these main objectives, its influence cannot be underestimated, especially in view of the intensifying class struggle in the ideological arena. The historical experience with the effects of psychological warfare and with the application of the findings of psychology in its practice reveals that what is at issue here is an instrument which permits the manipulation of the object of persuasion, which can to a certain extent complicate the progressive development of a society.

The forms and methods of the psychological warfare waged by imperialism can change frequently and suddenly. But their class-oriented, reactionary, and anti-communist substance remains immutable. They are and will continue to be designated and adapted to fit a new situation, which varies depending on the degree of growth in the strength of the world socialist system and the world peace movement.

In the wake of the fiasco suffered by tactical propaganda in past years one is now able to observe how the practice of psychological warfare is beginning to revert back to following the principles of strategic propaganda. Psychological operations are becoming more long-range in nature, and, similar to the situation that existed in the 1960's, they are supposed to be preparing a suitable ideological-political and moral-psychological groundwork for the provocation of a counter-revolutionary coup. An obvious effort is being made to legitimize ideological sabotage and the freedom of disinformation. Things are passing beyond the stage in which support was offered to individual dissidents in the socialist countries and moving toward the formation of organized groups of these people, and everything possible is being done to encourage their transformation into channels for exerting influence on certain segments of society.

A favorite tactic employed by bourgeois propaganda vis-a-vis the CSSR is the attempt to direct the attention of our people away from the tasks which were set by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ by manufacturing "insoluble" problems in the economic and ideological-political spheres (by advocating the consumer approach to life, claims concerning civil and human rights, and so on) and by creating fictitious disputes between the working people on the one hand and community leaders on the other hand. In the realm of psychological warfare and ideological sabotage special attention is paid to the problem of trying to bring about the disintegration of the communist party from within.

For all these reasons, it is vital for us to display a high degree of political vigilance and to pursue with dedication the goal of unmasking the reactionary essence of this psychological warfare and revealing how it affects the consciousness of individuals and societies as a whole. In order to successfully counteract this menace it is therefore necessary not only to improve the political and organizational work of the party and of society as a whole, but also and most importantly to provide for the further development of the substance and forms of ideological and educational work in all fields, not excluding science, culture, and the arts. Thus, this is a question of seeing to it that the desire to build a secure ideological and political "fortress" in defense against the effects of psychological warfare will become a permanent and fixed part of the characters of all men who think and act in accordance with the principles of socialism and that this characteristic will help them to actively and effectively resist its effects.

FOOTNOTES

1. Characteristically, this idea is still being emphasized by the current U.S. military doctrine, the basis of which continues to be the so-called realistic deterrent strategy.
2. "Psychological Operations--Techniques and Procedures," FM 33-5, 1974.
3. "XV. zjazd KSC" (Dokumenty a materialy)" [The 15th Congress of the CPCZ (Documents and materials)], Pravda, Bratislava, 1976, p 53.
4. J. Scott, "Political Warfare," 1955, p 8.
5. A. F. Bobikov, "Psychological Warfare of the Imperialist States," in TRUDY AKADEMII, No 52, Moscow, V. I. Lenin Academy of Political Science, 1965, p 288.
6. "Psychological Operations--Techniques and Procedures," FM 33-5, 1974, article 1, paragraphs 1-4.
7. L. Farago, "War of Wits," New York, 1954.
8. W. Daugherty and M. Janowitz, "Psychological Warfare Casebook," Baltimore, 1958, p 2.
9. J. Ellul, "Propaganda--The Formation of Men's Attitudes," New York, 1965, p 13.

10. We find an example of this kind of appeal for resistance in a poem by Jan Schneider, an employee of RFE, which was broadcast on 27 October 1975 only 3 months after the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki.
11. See the interview with Dr Milan Matous published under the headline "One Year After Helsinki" in TVORBA, 26 July 1976, p 3.
12. Op cit, p 3.
13. "Derelicts and Self-Appointed Authorities," PRAVDA, 12 January 1977, p 2.
14. "The Principal Characteristics of Psychological Warfare," 1969, No 5, p 245.
15. H. C. Walters, "Military Psychology, Its Use in Modern War and Indirect Conflict," Dubuque, 1968, p 22.
16. M. Megret, "La guerre psychologique" [Psychological Warfare], Paris, 1956, p 78.
17. This fact is mentioned in the annual report of the Committee for Foreign Broadcasts published in October 1975. This committee is a joint supervisory component of the inflammatory radio stations Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.
18. B. Szunyogh, "Psychological Warfare," New York, 1956, p 52.
19. L. Frazer, "Propaganda," London, 1956, p 10.
20. MILITARY REVIEW, No 10, 1970, pp 61-69.
21. "Voprosy teorii i praktiki masovykh sredstv propagandy" [Problems in the Theory and Practice of Mass Propaganda Media], Moscow, 1969, p 351.
22. "On the Main Tasks of Ideological Work Following the 14th Congress of the CPCZ," PRAVDA, 30 October 1972, p 3.

11813

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'TRIBUNA' RESUMES ATTACK AGAINST CHARTER 77

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 25, 22 Jun 77 p 4

[Article by (tad): "When the Ship Is Sinking..."]

[Text] It was not so long ago when, upon a command from anticommunist centers, a weird ship, or rather a scow, fixed up with all kinds of patches, began its voyage in our country. Our people gave it the name of "Chatra" [Rabble] which fits it perfectly.

Who makes up its crew? Some bankrupt politicians--both of the pre-February species and those from 1968--some ambitious (but "unappreciated" by the people) writers, mercenary journalists, elitarian scientists, adventurers of an international format, imperialist agents, inveterate Zionists, dropout clergymen, etc. In brief, shipwrecks and self-appointed individuals, parasites of the socialist society.

On the one hand, these people are enjoying with complete nonchalance all the fruits and advantages of the socialist system, while on the other hand, they are intentionally harming and slandering that system at the same time.

In their expectations the "Chatra" was to become some sort of a flagship sailing ahead of an unlimited fleet. Their first unpleasant surprise occurred, however, when they found out that for some reason the fleet never appeared. And another, even more disagreeable surprise followed soon after. The "Chatra" got stranded in the shallows.

In that situation perhaps they began quarreling and arguing about which one of the commanding triumvirate, Patocka, Havel or Hajek, had caused the disaster. The ship ran aground and soon it started falling apart. In the ensuing panic a desperate alarm was heard: "Everyone for himself!" And that's what happened. Western agencies appealed in vain for them to endure.

This peculiar alliance suddenly began showing cracks. Some of them openly called that they had been deceived, that they had not known what kind of a voyage it was really supposed to be, and that they went aboard by mistake. Never mind! Even that could happen. Then the nimblest individuals, the

organizers of that cruise, began losing their heads. Moreover, the higher power or providence, if you wish, struck, afflicting one of the leaders with a stroke.

Naturally, we mean Mr Patocka. That professor of philosophy who before the war had sucked in his knowledge at German universities and who could, undisturbed, publish during the Nazi occupation--and why not?--had thrown away his mask of a philosopher only in his old age and publicly joined the political service of imperialism. Bourgeois propaganda used even his death for yet more furious attacks against our socialist system, obviously following the motto: "Anything is good enough for us and everything is the communists' fault!"

What about Havel, a millionaire's son according to actual facts and the "greatest" contemporary playwright in Czechoslovakia according to the imagination of Western agencies (incidentally: what do you have to say about that, Mr Kohout)? In his official letter to the office of the prosecutor general he relinquished the honor of staying on as a representative and speaker for the "Chatra." Sure, voices could be heard immediately in the Western communications media that it was not so and that our press, allegedly according to Havel's own statement, had distorted the whole matter. Mr Havel himself must know best what is the truth and he knows just as well that it would be more than imprudent to make fun of the prosecutor general's office.

And what about the third fellow behind them? Or was it the first one in front of them? Still a member of the functioning leadership of the "Chatra," Mr Hajek was emphatically warned by the office of the prosecutor general that certain aspects of his activity were in contradiction to the Czechoslovak laws; he must be aware how such contradictions would be finally resolved, should they continue. It may be true that he enjoys doing what he is not supposed to; he especially excelled in that while serving as our former foreign minister. If he has not yet learned his lesson, let us hope at least that he might have already realized the futility of his actions.

Let us stop very briefly at several more members of the little political gallery of the "Chatra," without underestimating the activity of those whom we shall not specifically mention.

There is, for instance, Mr Kohout. His contemporaries know him as a man who changes his convictions as often as his wives (or is it perhaps the other way around?).

His spiritual development is eloquently documented also by the following example. Television viewers recently saw a program entitled "An Assassination Attempt on Culture"; although it represented only the most "decent" parts of the repertory of the DG-307 and The Plastic People of the Universe groups, it offered a very explicit sample of their "art." As quoted in the Catholic journal ORIENTIERUNG which is published in Zurich, Ivan Jirous, one of the prominent representatives of those groups, said "self-critically" that the groups undoubtedly played decadent music in the real sense of the

word and that he could understand why the authorities could find hardly any understanding for the lyrics of their songs. On the other hand, however, in his letter to a youth publication in our country, Kohout declared his attitude to the music of these groups approximately in that sense that the older he gets the more he learns to enjoy such music. Evidently, the saying that wisdom comes with age does not apply in every case.

It is known that Kohout finished crowing [Kohout means rooster] at Hradcany in Prague and moved to his country place in Sazava (which is how a Western press agency characterized it; we wish to add only that the apartment offered to him in a new building in Prague was not fancy enough for him). There he can continue his literary creation undisturbed in order to further enrich the world literature. To his "opus" "Z Deniku Kontrarevolucionare" ["From the Diary of a Counterrevolutionary"] (whose edition meant a considerable financial loss for a Swiss publisher) he may add a sequel entitled, for example, "From the Diary of a Dissident in Sazava."

It may be worth considering a publication of Kohout's biography as a textbook for schools. It would serve the children as a graphic example of a man-chameleon and students as an actual specimen of the metamorphosis of an ultra-leftist dogmatist into an ultra-rightist revisionist and opportunist. However, his case involves something else, namely, this "more a philosopher than a poet" (as he likes to call himself), this adapter of foreign dramas and novels joined as a mercenary the most inveterate enemies of our country and of our working people. And this is in fact not just a case of one's groping in life or an ideological search for truth, much less so some kind of a trifling prank from boredom, but unqualified maleficence.

We find that yet another seaman of the "Chatra" (we apologize in advance if his rank is higher), L. Vaculik, is much the same. In his case, however, we may find also some more original "things." As a 10-year-old youngster this genius could spell better than our current crop of university students (see his statement quoted in the French LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS). Meanwhile, he also tried various things in order to gain fame and by his last attempt he evidently defeated even Mr Kohout himself. As a matter of fact, Kohout, too, enjoys being photographed in his birthday suit--for example, with his spouse and his dog in a bathtub--while Mr Vaculik is photographed without his dog and wife but instead with his mistress and directly in a latrine. (How does Mrs Vaculik appreciate that?)

Thus, Mr Vaculik became involved in pornography, but not just any kind of pornography. Not only does he serve at the same time as both the subject and the object, but the scenery is most important. For example, pornography in a cemetery. Even in the West they have, perhaps, not gone so far. So that's what Vaculik's sophistication consists of. Otherwise, however, when looking at his figure in various poses, one must willy-nilly admit: "He sure has some nerve!"

It certainly is not without interest that Vaculik's pornographic autobiography disturbed even the late Patočka. W. Werth, a West German journalist, says in SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in his report entitled "Four Days in Prague Winter": "J. Patočka admitted that the photographs had shocked him. His initial impulse allegedly was: Vaculik must withdraw from the Charter so as not to discredit it."

However, what kind of morals could be expected from that crew. Who else would be left there and who could be the judge? Perhaps the international adventurer Kriegel who went to Chiang Kai-shek himself in the uniform of a U.S. Army major to earn his spurs and who is now regaling Western journalists with his stories about how he is constantly forced to literally fight for his bare survival in Czechoslovakia? We are only curious how soon some Western film production will base a modern Western on some of his "cowboy" stories. And since Mr Kriegel finds our country so oppressive--after all, he never belonged here--why then doesn't he go to the promised land?

Another excellent personality of the "Chatra," Mr Mlynar, alias Stool Pigeon, has demonstrated vividly how to make a fast exit; let us hope, for good. One cannot be surprised at him. After all, what has burst wide open about the kind of letters he used to send to the CPCZ Central Committee in order to advance his career in the 1950's and how he accused his current co-fighters of anti-state activities in them, must have made him feel more than uneasy among them. And because he felt uneasy among the honest people of our country even before that and nothing could make him happy here, he, so to say, flew the coop.

After these few examples, a question may be raised such as how is it at all possible that such a motley crew could be together on one ship? However, the variety is only illusory; it appears only on the surface. It stemmed only from the diverse roads on which all of them marched toward the same goal.

Careerism, unwholesome ambition, pathological narcissism, feeling of superiority over simple people, disdain for them, appreciation of themselves only, vainglory and greed and the ensuing venality to an extent and on a scale known only to the capitalist society and its wolf-like morals--that is what linked them together. And international imperialism needs in its struggle against socialism and peace exactly such people and, therefore, it recruits them for its service.

Another adventure has ended again for a handful of individuals who foolishly believed that they could stop the revolutionary progress and turn back the wheels of history. Some of them at least may have learned their lesson. Others in some corners may be licking their wounds which they have sustained and waiting grudgingly for another opportunity. Others again are waiting until some Brzezinski will pull again the little string and start them moving.

However, ladies and gentlemen, beware! Our working people have been patient long enough, tolerant and magnanimous to you, the antisocialist recidivists. Nevertheless, even their patience, tolerance and magnanimity have their limits. Today you are shipwrecked in the shallows but tomorrow it could be a direct hit by a torpedo and then one sinks rapidly and irretrievably down to the bottom.

9004

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECH BORN BISHOP FIRST AMERICAN MALE SAINT

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 25, 19 Jun 77 p 3

[Article by Jan Lebeda: "The New Man--On Today's Canonization of John Nepomucene Neumann"]

[Text] When John Nepomucene Neumann was baptized on 28 March 1811 in his native Prachatice, nobody could have guessed that on the same day 41 years later he would reach the fulfillment of priesthood at his consecration as bishop in the territory of the "New World" far away. And when he was ordained to priesthood in New York on 19 June 1836, it could not have occurred to anyone that he will be canonized in Rome on the same day 141 years later. Until he was 24 years old, his native country was like Nazareth to him, a preparation for his apostolic work overseas.

On the day of the highest honor which Christians can attain on this earth it is fitting to honor the memory of his parents and of all those who influenced his spiritual development during his childhood and youth in our country. First of all, we must rejoice over his patron saint at his baptism, St. John of Nepomuk, whose cradle in Southern Bohemia and silver tomb in Hradcany he visited before his departure for his first station as a priest near Niagara Falls. When he visited his native country as the bishop of Philadelphia, as if to say farewell, he offered the holy mass in the South Bohemian pilgrims' shrine of Kajov whose name is reminiscent of the joyful fruits of Christian penitence. His guides St. Vojtech [Adalbert], our first seafarer whose rudder looks like a pilgrim's compass, and St. John Nepomucene, floating above the water, embracing a cross, the secure center of gravity, were looking down at him from the altar there.

He certainly could not have been just an extremely polite good soul since, by the force of his quiet nature and heroism of his humility, he entered the church's modern history in the last century. A great life cannot be woven together from little episodes which petty writers would like to present as the essence. Every great life bears the seal of dedication to a great idea which often enough only after an interval of time sounds like Samuel's final reply to the Lord's unexpected call. We may penetrate

perhaps to the very heart of his personality if we realize that his life was completely predestined: he was a child born on Good Friday. When his father, a good-natured Bavarian immigrant, a hosier in Prachatice, was giving him his Christian name, he could not have anticipated that such a coincidence in the calendar expressed John's future. The popular saint whose statues used to be in our country frequently adorned with passion flowers, this "guardian of fountains and bridges" whose pictures went even overseas from our country and who carries a cross in his arms, embracing it with his priestly hands, became a constant companion of the child in Prachatice. It is not surprising that John Nepomucene Neumann chose a motto that is like a look at the scars, a sigh that became the "little secret" of his inner life: "Agony of Christ--give me strength!"

We may be not mistaken if we perceive the total atmosphere of Neumann's youth, his own approach to life, and the mentality of the nobler personalities of his day in the sign of self-realization which Adalbert Stifter, another prominent native of Sumava and Neumann's contemporary, expressed in his novel "Pozdnileto" ["The Late Summer."] If it seems that the domestic effort of the reformers of Neumann's type failed to fulfill religious hopes in our country and that it was overcast by the external appearance of the so-called "Austrian Catholicism" to the detriment of its aim of inner creation, it may be said that even those quiet apostles in our country have received their satisfaction in our native son's canonization which has now taken place.

What was the source of all that was new, fresh and filled with the Holy Ghost in Neumann? Following the Gospel, he was capable of "leaving everything behind," specifically his father and mother. In his case it was not easy, so much more so because as the first apostle of the Gospel to be sent from our country to the North American regions, his pioneering journey was followed from the very beginning by almost insurmountable external obstacles. He obtained the money for the fare only at the last moment. Even the fact that he so readily followed the poor people who were going to the "New World" to earn their bread and butter confirms his religious as well as national loyalty which is generally praised for his achievements in building parochial schools with instruction in the emigrants' native language. In his work he proved to be courageous, firm and determined, although of a gentle, sensitive disposition, which probably added charm and attractiveness to his personality. He was not without talent. His inclination was towards mathematics and physics; his father wanted him to be a physician. He demonstrated an extraordinary talent for foreign languages; at the age of 22 he went to Prague to improve his English and French at the university.

His life was marked by his strong will and in his work he was strict with himself. Several times he collapsed because of his undermined health. This may be explained by the fact that when he began serving as a priest he would ride on horseback over the area of his parish for hundreds of kilometers, even through swamps in the wild woods. In his activity Neumann anticipated the now quite common concept of the specific character

of individual nations and their frequently individual culture, which pertained also to the Czech region; as a Czech mother's son he exemplified a rare symbiosis of nationalities as well as Slavs in general, because he could communicate with them easily in their native languages. He displayed healthy ecumenism which in his loyal defense of his kindred was tactful toward other orientations and views. However, he tried primarily to bring together his co-religionists without any theories. His words were: "Woe to him who stands alone!" As a man of action without any respite and a lover of solitude he endeavored in essence for a specific union of kindred spirits. Therefore, at the onset of his work he summoned his brother Vac-lav from Prachatice to his isolated mission hermitage in the woods from which he used to ride far into the distant areas, so that together with him he would later find the sustenance in the spiritual community of which he became the first novice in his American province.

In accordance with the evangelic concepts in which the Savior of the World Himself sent his apostles as his forerunners to places where He Himself wished to come, his unification efforts met with various trials, tribulations and disappointments. However, what was born of the flesh and blood and of natural human ability, was drowned as if in the River Jordan. Neumann matured and produced the fruits of supernatural vision and foresight and that, of course, seemed to many too earthly elements in his closest surroundings almost as an omen which had to be denied. His inner development reached such heights that when on 20 March--on the day commemorating his patron saint's death by torture--he received at the age of 41 years the news that he had been appointed bishop of Philadelphia against his will, he accepted his way of the cross already prepared for his collapse which occurred on his pastoral trip eight years later, when exhausted, as if dragged to death, he fell on the pavement of the street. His canonization has been probably contingent on his heroism with which he endured injustice, slander and brutal attacks from persons of another spiritual ilk as well as of another pastoral orientation. Instrumental in them was also his assistant bishop who was assigned to him and who was probably looking at everything excessively naturally. Neumann died on 5 January, on the eve of the Epiphany, having become a kind of a purple living vigil and a forerunner who made ready the paths of the Lord.

Neumann's personality stems from the religious roots of our country, primarily of South Bohemia, at a time which used to be characterized by the impression of stagnant waters. One of its causes was in the delusion of that time that the real representatives of religious life were the mere juridical officials who certainly might have been needed in their places, but who were serving only as assistants in religious areas and who found their repose on the lee side under the ancient crests in the priests' quarters near the cathedrals and who had never been in the often rough terrain of spiritual administration and in the tempests in the villages. At that time an incomprehensible change might have occurred which seemed to have put a mark of equality between the apostle and the petty clerk who would occasionally imitate the way of life of the lesser gentry. In

this respect precisely Bishop Neumann moved energetically away from any kind of ecclesiastical pomposity by his simplicity and plainness stemming from the Gospels: already when ascending on the bishop's chair he began eliminating all ecclesiastical triumphalism. We might say perhaps that it was reminiscent of St. Vojtech's penitent entry in the cathedral of Prague, because St. Vojtech, who is especially venerated in South Bohemia, unquestionably influenced his soul and gave him orientation in the controversies and frictions of his time. Neumann's family at home venerated the Czech patron saints and two of its sons were named after Czech saints.

If we wanted to create somewhere in our country a portrait of our recently canonized saint, we would not look primarily for the personality of the bishop from overseas who proved himself a dignified successor and continuator of our Lord's twelve apostles in the manner typical for his era and for the conditions of the distant lands. We would portray him at the moment when the "new man" landed on the shores of the "New World." It is the appearance of a 24-year-old theologian who had spent 2 years in the seminary of Ceske Budejovice and two years in the Prague Clementinum where he already keenly penetrated beneath the religious surface of his era with his awareness of the inner instability of some of the theology professors of his time. In Prague, the day of 14 February 1835 became vitally important for him. He could not have guessed that once on that same day St. Cyril was dying as a "new man" on the apostolic thresholds; nevertheless, the 24-year-old theologian seemed to be experiencing Cyril's confession at that time: "To serve only God the Almighty." That day the 24-year-old theologian matured into a man of God as he heard the prayer of the church when receiving his tonsure: "And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." He experienced something that could be defined as the fulfillment of baptism in the sense of Jesus' commandment: "Teach ye!" On that day the truth about his life was sacramentally and definitely revealed to him. He achieved full self-realization; his purpose and goal in life were irrevocably sealed. There was something Jordan-like in the shadow of the heavenly smile and in the voice choosing him. Among the others in the crowd in Prague he found a priest to whom he became attached at the decisive moment in full confidence. The act of that day was in the sign of his self-commitment and self-release. Let us not warp his personality by saying that he did not appear to be passing through any crises when just the opposite is true! It was an act of his inner self-realization, self-knowledge which provided him with a safe point of departure for his apostolic voyage overseas. He would remember 14 February fondly. It clarified his mind and strengthened his will in accordance with the apostle's experience: "But when I became a man, I put away childish things." (1 Cor. 13, 11). On that day John Nepomucene Neumann made the confession of his life. It was not a mere list of his previous transgressions but his definite realization of God's will. Like the Star of Epiphany, not only his mission but also the already achieved self-realization in the fulfillment of God's intention appeared before his eyes. And thus, the "new man" landed on the shores of the "New World" on the holiday of Corpus Christi in 1836 to spread the word of God,

accompanied by love and by the example of the patron saint of his baptism, his countryman from South Bohemia, on whose day liturgy praises the inner man who remains true to himself as did St. John on the Jordan, whom the Lord Himself beatified saying that none greater than him had ever risen. (Mat. 11, 11).

At the age of 24 John Nepomucene Neumann should be related to our theologians who are maturing in order to become truly new men on their consecration to priesthood. He not only knew what he wanted and followed with determination that great idea, he really fulfilled the ideals of his theological years. In the same year when he went overseas, Karel Hynak Macha, who was one year older than his countryman from Prachatice, was dying in Litomerice. While working on his artistic conception the sculptor of his [Macha's] statue in that town mentioned to me that the poet's physical resemblance was not as important as was the expression of the idea, of the nature of spiritual struggles and contributions echoed in "Maj" [May]. We should like to see the image of the 24-year-old John Nepomucene Neumann in those who are going out to the vineyard and that not only in their youthful physical appearance which bears the touches of the present era, but also in the touch of the Holy Ghost from whom the priesthood comes in its fruitful consummation.

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CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

CULTURAL RAPPROCHEMENT AMONG SOCIALIST NATIONS DISCUSSED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 10 No 27 1977 signed to press 27 Jun 77
pp 8-9

[Article by Kurt Loeffler, state secretary in GDR Ministry for Culture:
"Source of Common Creativity--Foreign Cultural Relations Promote the Rap-
prochement of Our Socialist National Cultures"]

[Text] Firmly rooted in the indestructible historic fraternal alliance of
the peoples of the Soviet Union and our people proceeds the further blossom-
ing of the socialist German national culture and the reciprocal rapproche-
ment of the cultures of the peoples of real socialism.

In the 60th year after the Great October meeting with the history and the
historic present of socialist culture and art continues to be a new creative
source of intellectual and moral strength as well as of profound enjoyment,
which helps develop basic socialist convictions and encourages patriotic
and internationalist activism.

Inalienable Basic Principle of Socialist Cultural Policy

Culture and art increasingly help deepen the consciousness of the indivisible
friendship, solidarity and fraternity among our citizens. They inspire us
to feel ourselves members of the socialist community of nations and to think
and act accordingly. It is therefore an unalienable basic principle of our
country's cultural policy more and more comprehensively to develop close and
creative cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries
of the socialist community of nations.

In past years and decades the various socialist national cultures have be-
come richer and more variegated. They already show the basic features of
the future socialist world culture. These are testimonies to the new cul-
tural qualities and dimensions of socialism after its first glorious 60 years.
They are distinguished by the ideological unity of the national cultures on
the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, by their internationalism which em-
bodies socialist party-likeness and fighting solidarity, by their popular
character and the organic incorporation of culture and art in the socialist
lifestyle of the working people.

On the firm basis of the resolutions adopted by the Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses and the party congress resolutions of the fraternal parties the cooperation of the parties is also deepening in cultural matters, and the internationalist content of our socialist culture more sharply defined. That is the foundation of our state cultural relations. Beginning with the regular meetings by the ministers for culture--and the ministers for further and popular education--, the total development and coordination of various actions and sectors is coordinated and planned for long periods ahead. Bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements are concluded, providing for programs of long-term cooperation in films, television, publishing and entertainment including recordings. The programs also look after mutual participation in major international events such as the Berlin Festivals, the "White Nights" in Leningrad and the "Russian Winter" in Moscow, or in international competitions such as the Tchaikovsky Competition, the ballet competition in Moscow, the Bach and Schumann competitions in our republic, and others. At the same time we are mapping out or inspiring exchanges and the creation of artistic works which reflect innovations and the best traditions in the lives of the fraternal peoples.

Here we see proceeding the dialectical process of internationalization by the constant and increasingly rapid enrichment of socialist national cultures with international elements, by the acceptance of the most valuable achievements and experiences of the national cultures of other socialist countries--as well as progressive elements in the cultures of other countries--into the cultural treasure house of the socialist community.

National-specific intellectual and artistic values (which are socialist and internationalist by their content and nature) experience a simultaneous and extensive fruition.

Eloquent and incalculable evidence is offered by the many encounters of the working people of our country with the treasures of the multinational culture and art of the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations.

The interest and appetite for greater knowledge and more profound acquaintance with the peoples and history of the fraternal nations, their culture, art and literature, customs, usages and traditions, including the need to understand and learn to speak their language--all these have become a crucial concern of many working people, especially the young.

At the same time the incalculable impact of such significant Soviet masterpieces as "The Mother," "Battleship Potemkin," "As the Steel Was Tempered," "Optimistic Tragedy," "Quiet Flows the Don," and many others assimilated by hundreds of thousands, in fact virtually all our people, demonstrate the power and the riches transmitted by their discovery and intellectual acceptance.

Comrade Prof Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, appropriately described this process when he said:

"Socialist national culture in the GDR grows and is consolidated by the incorporation of all valuable historic traditions of our own people and the acceptance of democratic and socialist values of international culture, especially Soviet culture and art. Here are the sources of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism, which in their unity and solidarity determine the intellectual-cultural life of the GDR." (Prof Kurt Hager, "Ergebnisse und Aufgaben Unserer Sozialistischen Kulturpolitik" [Results and Tasks of our Socialist Cultural Policy], Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1975, p 38)

Soviet Works of Art Part of Our Cultural World

The everyday cultural life of thousands of socialist collectives of the working class, young people and other working people is imprinted by the dimensions and beauty of Soviet works of art and literature, revolutionary actions, the victories and conflicts of their heroes, their human trials and dignity, the meaning of life. All this is part of our intellectual enrichment. The repertoires of theaters, concert programs, movie features, exhibitions, lending libraries and so on, feature those works of Soviet culture, which accompanied as well as helped form and promote the entire revolutionary development and the struggles of advancing socialism from the beginning of the new era in world history to the present day. The showing of such films as "Liberation," "Hot Snow," "Salute to Maria," "All Is Quiet at Dawn," "The Taming of the Fire," or "The Premium" have become important year-round events, in addition to the annual high points represented by the "Festival of Soviet Films," "The Days of Soviet Books," the "Festivals of the Youth of the Soviet Union and the GDR" and the appearances of distinguished ensembles from all corners of the great Soviet country, days of theatrical art, music and other bilateral events. Since 1971 GDR publishing houses have issued more than 2,500 titles from the Soviet Union in editions exceeding 42 million copies.

As their contribution to the anniversary celebrations of the Red October GDR theaters have staged 43 world premieres and GDR premieres as well as more than 130 important Soviet plays embodying the democratic and revolutionary cultural heritage of the Russian people.

The following will soon appear on the stages of the German Democratic Republic and enrich the spectrum of our cultural life: The operative ensemble of the T.G. Shevchenko Theater of Kiev, the North Russian State Academic People's Choir, the ballet of Leningrad's Maly Theater, the USSR Symphony Orchestra, the song and dance ensemble of the Moscow military district, the Central Children's Theater of Moscow, the "Tavrya" girls choir and the "Azhoulukas" boys choir from the Lithuanian SSR, as well as many other artists and representatives of the multinational Soviet culture, soloists from Moscow's Bolshoy Theater, Leningrad and other cities and Union republics. An exhibition of graphics by N. Zhukov, "The Life and Work of V.I. Lenin," and the exhibition "60 Years Red October" add to the internationalist nature of our cultural life just as surely as the retrospective of 20 Soviet films including "Chapayev," "Battleship Potemkin," "The 6th of July," "Lenin in October" and "We Sailors from Kronstadt."

Among the many other important cultural events of this anniversary year let me mention in particular the Second Magdeburg Festival of German-Soviet Friendship, which took place from 13-15 May, the "Days of the Soviet Book" from 28 October-5 November 1977, the reshewing of Soviet documentaries on the occasion of the International Week of Shorts and Documentaries to be held in Leipzig in November, and the Sixth Festival of Soviet Movies and Television.

New Stage in the Union of Our Cultural Forces

The internationalist nature of our socialist national culture is also widely reflected in the new works of the writers and artists of our country. These have their origin in the immediate experience of the common struggle in the splendid work of constructing socialist economic integration. Many GDR artists have turned to the development of subjects from spheres and events by which we are vividly confronted with the growth, the social, political, intellectual and ethical-moral superiority of the socialist society, the cooperation proceeding within a family of truly free peoples.

Prolonged visits to the oil pipeline "Friendship" and the building sites along the natural gas pipeline from Orenburg to the western borders of the USSR and other centers proved to be far more than the traditional excursion trips. They provided direct and profound meetings with socialist reality, the thoughts, feelings and work of the builders. As a result writers, painters, graphic artists, sculptors and other artists have been better able to absorb the facts of the creative collaboration of the working people of our nations, the active labors of our youth and the socialist-internationalist activities which lend wings to their efforts. Consequently they range themselves consciously by the side of German authors and artists such as Kaethe Kollwitz, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Johannes R. Becher, Friedrich Wolf, Willi Bredel, Erich Weinert, Bertolt Brecht, Hanns Eisler and all those who firmly linked their work and attitude with the humanist and revolutionary ideals inspired by the Red October.

As on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of our liberation from fascism by the glorious Soviet Army, this year's Eighth GDR Art Exhibition will focus on such works as artistically and movingly reflect these events. The DEFA movie by Konrad Wolf and Wolfgang Kohlhaase, "Mama--I Am Alive," (premiered early this year), occupies a preeminent position in the socialist-realist artistic creation of the GDR, which is devoted to the magnitude of the decision and the historic dimensions of the progress and confirmation of our fraternal alliance.

The reciprocal exchange of works of art and the creation of new works dealing with men and men's fate in our time distinguishes the rapprochement of the cultures of our countries. The exchanges continue by way of important multilateral events. In the past 2 years alone we had the international art exhibition "30 Victorious Years," attended by 10 socialist countries (beginning in Moscow in 1975); the 1975 festival of folk art in the socialist

countries which took place (for the first time) in the three countries CSSR, People's Republic of Poland and GDR; the exhibition of arts and crafts first organized in conjunction with the 1975 IGA in Erfurt. All of them established new traditions and demonstrated the new union of our cultural forces.

Especially effective is the novel enterprise jointly undertaken by publishing houses in the socialist countries. They will issue a list of titles with the overall designation "Library of Victory." Published so far have been such well known literary works as "Real Man" by Polevoy, "Blockade" by Chakovsky, "Naked Among Wolves" by Apitz, "Standard Bearer" by Oleg Hanchov, "On Years of Freedom" by Bogdan Czeszko. By 1980 it is intended to issue 35 titles with a first edition of altogether 1,050,000 copies.

Increasing direct contacts between the academies of art, the artists federations, theaters, orchestras, museums and other artistic facilities represent particularly important events in the rapprochement of our national cultures. The nature of this coordinated work is established in long-term agreements and includes joint projects--stage representations, exhibitions or scientific events--, the exchange of members, soloists or ensembles, and the generation of artistic performances in the allied country. An impressive example was the exhibition of works by Prof Fritz Cremer in Moscow, which scored a great success in early 1977.

The direct collaboration of conductors, directors, stage designers, choreographers and soloists from the USSR in artistic events in our republic is particularly appropriate to help our cultural life absorb the national nature of the respective work of art.

Many stage representations have well demonstrated the truth of this assertion (see the list at the end of this article). This method greatly encourages the evolution of the internationalist nature of socialist culture in the dialectic unity of the national and the international, of national peculiarities and common interests and ideals. The present increased emphasis on joint scientific work as well as bilateral and multilateral scientific conferences serve the study of these inevitable developments, especially the emergence of common characteristic features in the socialist national cultures of the fraternal peoples.

All these events, the emergence of their internationalist profile (based on common ideals and interests) is another effective contribution to the offensive world-wide propagation of our intellectual-cultural achievements and values as well as the reinforcement of the international radiation of real socialism. In the acute ideological conflict proceeding in the cultural sphere, the socialist culture and art of the GDR throws into the scale the real humanism, optimism and general intellectual and moral values of socialism. In this spirit literature, art and the innumerable intellectual-cultural initiatives in honor of the 60th anniversary of the victorious Red October will demonstrate to all the world the greatness and irreversibility of the revolutionary transformation achieved in our socialist state led by

the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, that transformation which made our republic a firm element in the stable community of socialist countries, which guarantees the further blossoming and thriving of the socialist national cultures, their community of interests and internationalist features.

Guest Productions by Soviet Directors at GDR Theaters in 1977

- Gogol's "Government Inspector" at the Dresden State Theater, directed by G.A. Tovstonogov, senior director at Leningrad's Gorky Theater;
- Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin" at the Leipzig Opera, directed by B. Pokrovsky, principal director at Moscow's Bolshoy Theater;
- Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin" at Erfurt City Theater, directed by R. Siparis, director at the partner theater in Vilnius;
- Gorky's "Earthly Paradise" at Magdeburg City Theater, directed by Andreev, director at Moscow's Yermolova Theater;
- Borodin's "Prince Igor" at the same theater on the occasion of the Second Festival of Soviet-German Friendship, directed by Kushakov, principal director of the Donetsk State Theater for Opera and Ballet;
- Petrov's ballet "The Creation of the World" at the Berlin German State Opera House, choreographed by N. Kazatkina and V. Vasiliyov;
- Petrov's opera "Peter I" at the Karl Marx Stadt City Theater.

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CSO: 2300

STATUS OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS ILLUSTRATED

Opposition to Bruesewitz Center

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 23 Jun 77 p 4 DW

[Text] A "Christian Pan-European study foundation" was constituted last weekend in Bad Oeynhausen which wants to establish a Bruesewitz center. In doing this the initiators want to act "for the implementation of human rights and religious freedom in the GDR and other European socialist countries." When the Council of the Evangelic Church in Germany (EKD) unanimously had asked the founders of the center to at least abstain from using the name of GDR Parson Bruesewitz, who had died last year through self-immolation, many CDU politicians revoked their signatures from the drafted foundation document. DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT had asked Bishop Dr Werner Krusche, head of the Church Province Saxony in which Oskar Bruesewitz was working as parson, about his opinion in regard to establishing a Bruesewitz center. The text of the interview, which will appear in the next issue of DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT, is being published by FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in a slightly abbreviated form:

Question: Bishop Krusche, do you agree to the use of Parson Bruesewitz' name?

Krusche: We have made a clear statement. This entire enterprise has been started without any coordination with the churches. The management of our church approached President Immer, the chairman of the Union of the Evangelic Church Council in the Federal Republic, with the request to see to it that the name will not be used. We have expressed our concern that such an enterprise could handicap our own efforts to practice religious freedom here which has been guaranteed to us.

Question: The church managements in the Federal Republic tried to act according to your demand, but in vain. What consequences will this action have for you?

Krusche: I have been very much shocked by the fact that the opinion of church managements, which have more authority in your churches than the

initiators of this enterprise, simply have been ignored. Since all this has happened, I must assume that the planned center will be an enterprise directed against the Evangelic churches and aimed at repudiating their managements and putting their integrity in question....

Question: The president of the Evangelical Church of Westphalia, Hans Thimme, termed the Bruesewitz Center a "symbol of cold war intrigues." Would you agree to this formulation?

Krusche: I am glad that we did not have to say this and that it has been said by the president of a great Evangelical church in the Federal Republic. I really believe that this enterprise indeed is just part of the propaganda war, and that it does not serve the aims it pretends to serve. We consider it as senseless to accuse each other of human rights violations.

Question: The widow of late Parson Bruesewitz is said to have objected to the use of her name. But the president of the Pan-European Union, Otto von Habsburg, says that the statement made by Mrs Bruesewitz "under the GDR regime" is "dubious." And: "Through his action Oskar Bruesewitz belongs to all of us and not just to his family." What do you think of that?

Krusche: We expected this objection. Obviously there exist people who cannot imagine that somebody can speak up freely in the GDR. I can guarantee that Mrs Bruesewitz freely stated to me that she does not agree to the use of her name and that this would cause deterioration to the memory of her husband....

Question: The member of the church management of the United Evangelic-Lutheran Church of Germany, CSU Bundestag deputy Peter W. Hoefke, said as member of the Board of Directors of the now established study foundation that "it is the duty of the Christians in the Federal Republic to say bravely what our brethren and sisters in the other part of Germany are not permitted to say." Were the Christians in the GDR too silent, so that the Christians in the Federal Republic must speak for them?

Krusche: I do not know from where the respective gentleman, whom I do not know, has received his information. I do not consider it fair or decent to utter criticism or censure from another state where the church lives under other conditions. I think that the Christians in the GDR have stated their troubles most clearly and bravely and that they will go on doing it. We do not need the loud support of others who do not live here. The tone in which we can speak here must be left to us. It cannot be factually assessed from without. We speak as clearly as we consider it proper in order to keep the discussion partner listening. I want to protect my brethren and sisters in the GDR who are bringing up their matters clearly and in the proper way. I do not think that undesired covering fire given from outside the GDR will be of any help.

Question: Will the Bruesewitz Center have a negative effect for the Christians in the GDR?

Krusche: That could be. But maybe it will have no effect at all.

Response to Opposition

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 29 Jun 77 p 4 DW

[Text] Last week FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU printed an interview with the head of the Church Province Saxony in which Bishop Krusche criticized the "Bruesewitz center" to be established in Bad Oeynhausen, which supposedly will act for free religious activities in the GDR and castigate religious handicaps. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU received a long letter on this interview from an expert on the church situation in the GDR. Although FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU shares the reservations of Bishop Krusche and the Evangelical Church of Germany against the "Bruesewitz center," its readers should not be deprived of the other opinion contradicting that of Bishop Krusche as it was formulated in the letter.

As former parson of the Evangelical Church of the Saxony Church Province, I would like to make some remarks on the mentioned interview with Bishop Dr Werner Krusche. On the basis of my many contacts with Christians in the GDR which I had as community parson in a newly built precinct of Magdeburg and before that in Quedlinburg, I think I can say that Dr Krusche is not representing the majority of community members in objecting to the establishment of the Bruesewitz center. Most Christians and citizens of the GDR expect that their situation will be considered "from without," although they had church activities in mind rather than CDU activities.

Every utterance of leading GDR church representatives must be seen in the light of the fact that Oskar Bruesewitz committed his deed last not least out of protest against the lukewarm and tactically unclear action of the church in the GDR. I dare doubt that many sisters and brothers in the GDR have authorized Bishop Dr Krusche to protect them. The tension between Christians of the community and the parsons on the one hand and the Magdeburg church management (I can speak only for this management) have become obvious in regard to assessing the deed of Parson Bruesewitz and its consequences, as well as to the proper theological and practical reaction. It was clearly demonstrated by a talk on 4 October 1976 in Halle/Saale between the church management and numerous critics of its action, as well as by the considerable number of people who have quit church out of protest against such action. It would, therefore--but not just for this reason--be arrogant to identify the authority of the church management in the church with the authority of communities and individual engaged Christians.

It was pointed out to me repeatedly since 18 August 1976 in the GDR how much the shady action of the church has discredited and disintegrated

itself, so that it cannot speak any more out of the actual situation of suffering Christians. This situation has been played down and covered up by Krusche in an absolutely unpermissible way. Since we have become accustomed to the fact long ago that so many problems gain worldwide attention, it is impossible that problems pertaining to the life of Christians in the GDR shall remain unnoticed and under the exclusive authority of Evangelical churches in the GDR. Aside from this Otto von Habsburg probably is right that Oskar Bruesewitz because of his deed belongs to all of us. It is worth mentioning that Krusche did not react to this statement.

Due to my exchange of letters with Mrs Bruesewitz, I think I can say that she would not basically object to an enterprise which would take up the intention of her husband. In view of the critical approach of Bruesewitz to the church management and probably to Krusche, too, as its chairman, and in view of the reservations Mrs Bruesewitz had in regard to Krusche's reaction to Bruesewitz' deed--as she told me--I doubt the credibility of the statements made in the interview on the problem of using Bruesewitz' name. Is it likely that Mrs Bruesewitz has said this to a man who continued his stay in Tanzania when the events were reaching a peak, instead of immediately returning to the center of events of his home church? This has been sharply criticized by many Christians!

By mentioning "an item in the propaganda war," Krusche seems to have taken the very words from the mouth of an SED functionary. It is correct that great silence exists in the GDR. The risk is too great in regard to profession, schooling of children and personal freedom for making a proper and factual statement in this matter. It is painful that Krusche wants to wipe out this truth and these facts which he knows so well, but it belongs to the context of considerate tactics.

In short: For the sake of the people and Christians in the GDR the FRG's unlimited freedom of opinion and action in regard to human problems in the GDR must not be put in question. Authoritarian claims for sovereignty rights of church managements (see last part of the interview), which cannot be claimed even vis-a-vis the own community, must be ignored if this freedom of opinion and action is not supposed to be exploited in a party policy way or for general anticommunism. It would be the task of the Evangelical Church in the FRG to become active in this enterprise, because abstinence would be more problematic than useful. As far as I can see, the "Bruesewitz center" enterprise did not plan to oppose the Evangelical Church. "Will the Bruesewitz center be detrimental to the Christians in the GDR?" Aside from the fact that one must wait and see what its activities will be like, I am convinced that many people in the GDR would answer: The Bruesewitz center possibly may be as detrimental as its nonexistence could be useful, for the time being. Signed: Werner Meyer.

EAST GERMANY

ADVANCED TRAINING OF COLLEGE, TECHNICAL SCHOOL CADRE DESCRIBED

East Berlin DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN in German Vol 25 No 2, Feb 77 signed to press 3 Jan 77 pp 32-34

[Article by Guenter Bernhardt, state secretary in GDR Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs; Rolf Moebius, secretary in the advanced education center of GDR Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs; and Prof Dr Alfred Weidemeier, director of the advanced education center: "Results, Problems, and Tasks in the Advanced Training of Key Cadres in Colleges and Technical Schools"]

[Text] Proceeding from the decisions of the Eighth SED Congress on improving the quality and efficiency of leadership activity, the necessary steps were taken for the advanced training of key cadres within the sphere of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs (MHF), among others. The Advanced Training Center (WBZ) of the MHF was opened in Merseburg in March 1974 and the first classes were held. The key cadres in higher education as well as the directors and deputy directors of centrally directed engineering and technical schools had an opportunity for 4 weeks of intensive study of selected fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism and party policy, as well as for a comprehensive exchange of experiences on the best ways and means of implementing and carrying out the party's policy on science, universities and technical schools in practical leadership activity.

The Goal of the First Advanced Training Cycle was Achieved

In accordance with the course objective for the first advanced training cycle, the participants were, on the basis of study of selected works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and the decisions and documents of the Eighth SED Congress and 24th CPSU Congress, to deepen their Marxist-Leninist knowledge in selected areas and their understanding of the party decisions and, in a purposeful exchange of experiences, deliberate on questions of politico-ideological leadership activity and on methods for the practical implementation of the decisions of party and government in university and technical school education. To carry out this conception,

a series of lectures were carried out, derived from the following subject areas:

- Selected basic questions of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism;
- Basic questions of Marxist-Leninist scientific, cultural and educational policy;
- Theoretical and practical questions of leadership in university and technical school affairs.

Results and Experiences of the First Advanced Training Cycle

On the conclusion of the first advanced training cycle, the following principal results can, in summary, be established:

1. The overall conception for the advanced training courses proved itself; the emphases were correctly chosen; and the course objectives drawn up were achieved in all courses.
2. In accordance with established terminology, with minor exceptions, all rectors, pro-rectors, directors and section directors of the universities and colleges, and a high proportion of the deputy directors of the centrally managed engineering and technical colleges received advanced training --a total of about 500 responsible leadership functionaries. These cadres were thus further trained after the Eighth Party Congress in an important sphere of their activities and the basis for their understanding of the policy of the party and for its unitary implementation in university and technical school affairs was broadened and deepened.
3. Through regular appearances by leading comrades of the Sciences Department of the Central Committee and all leading comrades of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs (minister, state secretary, deputy ministers, etc.) the course participants could at any time be given a unitary orientation on all decisive questions--e.g. on the current situation, on problems and tasks in the implementation of scientific policy, on current emphases and tasks of leadership activity, etc.

A successful path was thus taken in the advanced training of the leadership cadres of university and technical school affairs after the Eighth Party Congress.

Alongside these positive results, however, some problems which emerged during the first advanced training cycle cannot be overlooked. These are mainly developmental difficulties, principally caused by a lack of sufficient experience in the organization and implementation of such courses, partially insufficiently precise formulated educational and training objectives for the specific lectures and, in part, also by a lack of scientific preparation for some lectures. Thus in certain cases, as a

result of the engagement of lecturers on very short notice and the consequent insufficient temporal and scientific preparation, there were initially inadequate arrangements of course content and methodological harmony, instances of neglect of important questions on the one hand and overlaps or repetitions in course content on the other hand, and the like. The specific problems of leadership and the active forms of teaching still constituted too small a part of the total duration of the courses; likewise, the teaching and learning aids and the instructional and study methods used were still not modern enough.

The course participants are outstandingly involved in the successful implementation of the first advanced training cycle. They interpreted their delegation to the courses as an important party and state mission and always acted in this sense. Their political-ideological attitude was characterized by the recognition of the need to train themselves constantly professionally, politically, and in leadership. It expressed itself in a high consciousness of responsibility and great discipline, a good study atmosphere, comradely behavior and willingness to join actively in shaping the courses. Inside and outside the classes a lively discussion of current political happenings, theoretical and practical problems went on. At the same time it served further to strengthen and deepen the class position of the course participants.

In conversations and evaluations the view was again and again expressed that the courses constitute a valuable professional and political aid to leadership activity. From the lessons and discussions, it was said, many stimuli to the study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the party decisions and perceptions of leadership science were received. There were sufficient opportunities to deepen understanding through self-study and in discussions and to prepare for actual leadership activity, and also to exchange useful experiences. The appearance of representatives of the Science Department of the Central Committee and of the leading comrades of the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs at all courses was particularly welcomed. The selected themes of the lectures had, it was said, also succeeded in largely fulfilling the objective need of the course participants for advanced training. It was, however, also suggested that more attention be devoted to deepening the specific knowledge of leadership and involving the course participants more strongly in active participation in shaping the courses. The latter was also practiced particularly in the form of the successful working-group activity and the optional evening events--of a scientific and cultural nature, mostly shaped by the course participants themselves. By accumulating and storing the comprehensive practical experiences of the course participants in the most varied fields, working-group activity--40 topics were worked on, in all--provided valuable insights for leadership activity at the universities and technical colleges, for the preparation of decisions at the Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs, and for the further development of instructional activity at the Advanced Training Center; but in the future these insights must be even more intensively evaluated.

Basic Concern and Educational and Training Objectives of the Second Advanced Training Cycle

The courses of the second advanced training cycle for key cadres of the university and technical school system, which began in November 1976, will be entirely characterized by the fundamental evaluation of the documents and guiding decisions of the Ninth SED Congress and the 25th CPSU Congress and their practical implementation in the field of universities and technical schools. Their basic concern is by improving the specialized-scientific, political-ideological and leadership-organizational activity of the leading cadres to significantly increase the contribution of universities and technical schools to the further shaping of developed socialist society and to the creation of the prerequisites for a gradual transition to communism. The advanced training courses of the Advanced Training Center must also actively support the concern of the party "to create all conditions...through high quality of leadership activity," in order that the working people "can fully develop their initiative in socialist emulation,"¹ and thereby "direct all efforts even more consistently toward the development of the qualitative factors of growth, that is, particularly toward the development and speeding-up of scientific-technical progress and of the effective application of its results in production."² To this end, it will quite certainly also be necessary to establish contacts with and maintain a constant exchange of experiences between the Advanced Training Center and similar advanced training centers in the fraternal socialist countries, particularly the USSR. For only thus can the realization of the "fundamental task in the field of university and technical school education," of "increasing the quality of the training and advanced training of university and technical school cadres"³ and "raising further the level and efficiency of research work" and of "ensuring the rapid transfer of the results of research into practice."⁴

From these statements of tasks at the Ninth Party Congress for university and technical school affairs, based upon their main concern, the training and instructional objectives of the second advanced training cycle were formulated. By:

- Broadening and deepening their Marxist-Leninist knowledge, particularly through the fundamental study of selected works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism;
- intensive study of the decisions of party and government;
- further strengthening of the class viewpoint and development of their socialist basic positions, ways of thinking, behaving and acting and;
- evaluation and generalization of the latest findings in science, university and technical school policy and in leadership science and leadership organization and the most highly developed practical experiences, including above all Soviet ones;

the key cadres in university and technical school education will be better equipped to:

- recognize the objective laws of social development and the advantages of the socialist social order, to observe them more strongly in their activity and to use them correctly;
- implement the decisions of the party and government in their fields of responsibility purposefully, creatively and conscientiously and to maintain a high party and state discipline in the fulfillment of their duties;
- in leadership activity, always to proceed from the interests and requirements of the working class and implement the leading role of the party in their own fields of responsibility;
- prepare scientifically based decisions, to take them in good time and carry them through consistently;
- develop socialist personalities and collectives, awake and develop activity, initiatives and creativity in the fields of leadership, in order to conscientiously fulfill their assigned tasks, to step-up scientific work and thereby attain high achievements in education and training, research and the development of science and also in the transfer of the latest findings of science into social practice;
- shape leadership activity rationally and efficiently and concentrate on the solution of the main tasks;
- acquire new knowledge, abilities and skills in the fields of science, university and technical school policy and of leadership science and leadership organization and to apply the education which they had acquired in practical leadership activity and pass it on.

Measures for the Practical Implementation of the Educational and Training Objectives

Proceeding from the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress, an outline subject plan was developed for the implementation of the planned educational and training objectives, taking into consideration the results and experiences of the first advanced training cycle and continuing it, and also considering the objective need for advanced training of the key cadres. The plan covers 20 topics, which are subsumed in two topic complexes:

1. Selected basic questions of Marxism-Leninism and the policy of the party, and;
2. the practical implementation of the science, university and technical school policy of the party by leadership activity in the universities and technical schools.

As compared with the subject plan for the first advanced training cycle there was a significant extension of the proportions of advanced training, specifically in leadership and of active forms of instruction--e.g. seminars with active contributions by the course participants, colloquia, working-group activity and the like--in the overall arrangements of the courses. New items added to the subject plan include e.g. classes on the concrete leadership of education, training and research, on leadership organization in university and technical school affairs, on selected questions of university and technical school teaching, on the implementation of a way of life for the leaders beneficial to their health and productivity, etc. The instructors were contractually engaged in good time. To permit better preparation for the courses, the course participants, when they receive their invitations, are informed, together with other documents, of the active instructional contributions which they are to make and the topic of the working-group in which they are to participate. The list of names of the cadres to receive advanced training was determined, confirmed once more and in this connection also extended.

With a course duration of 4 weeks each time, with six courses per year, the second advanced training course will last approximately 4-1/2 to 5 years and stretch, with a total of about 30 courses, from the end of 1976 till mid-1981. The basic concerns and objectives for the second advanced training cycle and its implementation in accordance with plan can only be fully achieved if the efforts in this connection of the Ministry of University and Technical School Affairs and the Advanced Training Center are actively supported by the universities, colleges and technical schools, the lecturers and course participants, if they make the advanced training of leaders their own affair. We do not doubt that the task will be successfully solved at a qualitatively high level in the spirit of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Report of the Central Committee to the Ninth SED Party Congress," Reporter: Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1976, p 84.
2. Cf. Ibid., p 84-85.
3. Cf. "Directives of the Ninth SED Party Congress for the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the Economy of the GDR in the Years 1976-1980," Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1976, p 107.
4. Cf. Ibid., p 108.

8739

CSO: 2300

PCI SENATOR JOINS HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATE ON HUNGARIAN TELEVISION

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 10 Jul 77 p 15 LD

[Unattributed report: "Human Rights Debate on Hungarian Television"]

[Text] Budapest--Friday evening over 6 million Hungarians were able to watch a debate on "human rights," broadcast live by the national television service. The PCI senator, Piero Pieralli, French journalist and political commentator for LE MONDE Jean Schwoebel, leftwing militant and Harvard University professor Guinier, Gard Strachan, a South African white who has espoused the cause of his country's black population, and the Hungarian writer, Ivan Boldizsar, took part in the debate.

The debate, which aroused great interest and which, according to observers, creates a precedent in the socialist countries of East Europe, was introduced by the LE MONDE journalist. He said that "East Europe can play a specific role of its own in extending the liberal Western concept of human rights, emphasizing the results obtained in the field of economic and social human rights." Schwoebel maintained however that the countries of East Europe have not hitherto taken into consideration "the positive side of this international debate." "The Western countries," he said, "were not at first interested at the Helsinki Conference. Now the Helsinki document is an integrated whole which not only contains the problem of human rights but also inter-European cooperation, noninterference in the internal affairs of others, European security and disarmament."

Senator Pieralli stated first that he recognized that the present polemics on human rights have been used in a certain sense for antisocialist and perhaps even antidetente purposes; he said that he agreed with the LE MONDE journalist that "this polemic will lead to some positive result."

"In Western countries," Pieralli said, "where criticism, to some extent justified, is directed against the socialist countries which are accused of stifling freedom of expression, a certain self-critical attitude is beginning to appear even at government levels." At the London summit, Pieralli said, Carter declared that the right to work is included among human rights. In the West right now there are 15 million unemployed. The

way in which the United States is conducting the campaign for human rights, he added, linking it to the negotiations to curb strategic weapons and for European security, is strongly contested in the United States itself, and some West European governments do not share President Carter's view.

Illustrating the Italian communists' position on the question, Pieralli said that "We do not believe there is any need to set up committees or adopt nervous attitudes, exchanging propaganda slogans, setting bourgeois and socialist freedoms and rights against each other.... Humanity needs both kinds of freedoms, because freedom and the social process are convergent." We believe, Pieralli said, that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are playing a fundamental role on the world scene, but we also say that we intend to build another kind of socialism since our historical realities are different.

CSO: 3104

HUNGARY

POLITICAL PROTEST SONGS CRITICIZED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Jun 77 p 5

[Article by Peter Vincze: "Polbeat"]

[Text] Someone in the room remarked that this wasn't Bob Dylan at all. The truth of these words was indisputable. Instead of songs which really burn, songs about tension-causing factors in society, what we heard was sad, lukewarm wiggling around, about the kinds of issues which, at best, find their way into a hidden corner of a daily paper at the time of the great summer cucumber season.

Polbeat has had a strange career in Hungary. Its chords first sounded a decade ago, and they were received by stunned silence, as well as suspicious eavesdropping by the director of the culture house. Its debut was also characterized by the "catacomb-solidarity" of its small number of disciples. Today the festival is advertised annually in Szekesfehervar, with many singers and groups, but it seems the "pol" became much smaller during the years.

Of course, the songs beat the dust out of the pants of the petty bourgeoisie, the bureaucrats and the careerists. Who else took a beating? If I remember correctly, the private entrepreneurs did also. Others are, and for decades have been, doing the same thing, in less-melodious speeches. Shocked, they flash a few of the worn-out examples of our contradictions, grabbing them, almost, from each others' hands. This is the song. Next appearance.

These agreed-upon punching bags would be pitiable, if any of them were affected at all by public mention. It doesn't bother them; it cannot bother them. Since, apart from mental hospital cases, I would hardly believe that anyone sits down at his desk with the thought "well, today I will demand one more stamp;" or, adjusting his starched elbow-protector, "now I'll obtain a little bit of illegal advantage." He does his job, behaves, in accordance with his everyday environment and experiences, naturally, not overstepping it. This is why he is a petty bourgeois.

It can be suspected that those who politely poeticize the bourgeoisie's unattractive features are yet more bourgeois.

At one time we came to know this kind of art as "protest songs," songs of protest. This was transformed, in name, to political beat, on the basis, it may well be, of thinking such as: what do we have to protest against here at home? War, aggression, racial oppression--these answers would be simple. They were simple, too, in song, not only when considering the recent past's Southeast Asian tragedy, but also events a half century ago here in Hungary. Any way we look at it, protest songs are not an invention of the sixties. The mocking songs sung in the nest at God [city], or the highly emotional poetry set to music, fulfill precisely all the criteria of this type of art. What is even more important, the unwritten rules of an entirely different "form of art" were tailored for those who sang them.

It is true, of course, that socialism's natural revolutionary nature, the roots of which are in self-improvement, poses unique demands. But one thing is certain: it possesses a revolutionary nature. The internal requirement to review our acts and various circumstances requires responsible, political individuals, with the spirit of action, who do not search for oft self-misleading answers to "what can be done," but for the hows of "what should be done."

The latter is more important and more useful. We know and experience it; stumbling, uncertain wandering keeps one back, as though with lead weights, in material and intellectual development. Therefore, it is unnatural in the socialism of the future, just as the petit bourgeois is who is being sung to death, and who is also singing also is unnatural. We could almost say that it is unnecessary to wail. Our lives' must be shaped by deeds in such a way that selfish irresponsibility becomes impossible.

Is it simpler to judge something in general than to hold someone responsible for his acts with factual accuracy? Certainly it is simpler, more comfortable, more peaceful. But this is not the peace we need, because, at best, we can call this acquiescent tepidity; or social carelessness. The important thing is not naming precise names, but making them forgotten, unknown.

Of course this is not a new statement, either; it is at least 100 years old. Marx, in his rarely quoted study entitled "Civil War in France," relates, among other things, one revolutionary experience--the development of the mutual "incentive" system, characterized by equality and interdependence, in which the search for "something else," the "better way," was not only a requirement, but became an ethical compulsion.

It is also clear that the decades are not made up of a sequence of rare and great world historic moments. But we must, or should, know at least as clearly that one becomes open to, or prepared for, great moments only in that ethical order that has been tried and proven for 100 years. Twentieth century history validates the necessity of this ethical system.

This is why we did not like the overly harmonized chords in the fake-polbeat singers' program. There is no need for harmony in our wishes. But there is need for it among our wishes.

LIMITS OF FREE SPEECH, SELF-CENSORSHIP DISCUSSED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 2 Jul 77 p 3

[Interview with Janos Szilagyi, by Andras Mezei: "How Far Can One Go?"]

[Text] [Question] Your interviews entitled "Face to Face" are unique forms of theater where millions listen to impromptu exchanges, a theater in which questioner and questioned become actors and the transmission is direct. Nothing can be erased from a conversation. There is a risk. Perhaps this is why, after 50 programs, we feel your program to be tense and dramatic. Could you be more courageous? Could you be a more daring questioner, one who knows how far you can go with "hard questions"--since for the most part you are talking with "bigwigs"?

[Answer] Everywhere in the world leading personalities make statements if you put a microphone under their nose. This is their business. In the worst case they will say, No comment. This is their right. But the questioner must believe that there are no hard questions. This is the business of the questioner.

[Question] A true statement of a reporter's faith. But what backs it up?

[Answer] I feel that in Hungary today one can go as far in "hard" questions as one can without damaging real public matters. For example, we cannot ask the minister of defense how many rockets we have because this would not only put him in an unpleasant situation, it would put us in an unpleasant situation too. If he answered it would damage the cause of all of us. I admit that this is an extreme example. There are questions of less import too, but permit me to reverse the question: Why are we still looking for upper limits? Why are we more excited about what cannot be said than about what can be said, even when the latter are the vital questions? It is my personal experience, program after program, that those walls are much farther away than people think. I always call back my subjects in the days after a program. I am now on my fiftieth program but never have they (or I) been blamed "from above" on the charge that this or that should not have been said. But even I have been faint hearted more than once. It is as if I were afraid of myself when I asked some "hard" question: Now I've torn it. But it never happened. But this

is not because I ask questions so carefully, rather it is because even I am working well below this "upper limit."

[Question] How do you know you are well below it if you do not know where the upper limit is?

[Answer] I know because when the 60 minutes is over I feel that it has been very difficult for me to get an hour's program out of the customs of the day. I have had to force myself. I know because I have had to overcome my faint heartedness, my cowardice, my love of comfort.

[Question] Only that?

[Answer] Well, no. There is much talk today about democratism coming from above and from below. I am trying to master this myself; but despite the fact that everyone desires the development of democratism there is the mechanism to contend with if concrete deeds are involved.

[Question] Why is this?

[Answer] Very, very few people dare to take a chance. In general if the chances are 80 percent good and the danger comes to only 20 percent they consider the odds too great.

[Question] Couldn't you give a concrete example?

[Answer] Years ago I made a very cynical bet with one of my colleagues. The bet was that he could prepare any sort of interview with any sort of person on any sort of subject. Then, when our chiefs listened to that interview, I would immediately shoot it down and it would not be broadcast. One fine fall day my colleague prepared an interview with a trash man in a park and he said it would be impossible. I would not be able to shoot down this interview, the poetical nature of which violated no interests. I went in to listen to this 4 or 5 minute report. It really was good. Poetical. It spoke to the heart. Even I felt some pain when I softly and discretely suggested to the editor: Is this really suitable now? Just 1 week before our big holiday? To speak about fall and time passing?! About trash, and with a trash man?! The editor did not answer but he thought about it. Maybe he felt some risk, because he sent the material to his chief with the note: Would this be suitable before the holiday? If someone heard this he might get different meanings from some phrases. I need not say that unfortunately I won the bet. Do not consider me cynical for saying so but this cynicism, unfortunately, is in things. It would appear that most often it does not pay to take a chance.

[Question] If the upper leadership, let us say in a branch of industry, did not take the chance that the risk taking of the lower leadership would pay better than not taking a risk then why do they take the chance? Against their own interests?

[Answer] That is a good question but I am afraid you asked it for the wrong reason. And if it will not make you angry, this is the mistake. You are right that the art of leadership always involves creating a situation in which active and creative energies can find an outlet but I do not believe there ever have been or perhaps ever will be ideal situations. Even art and creative innovations need obstacles which they can overcome. There have always been those who, despite their material interests, did not seek things to be afraid of, who were not afraid to take situations to extremes. And this too derives from their interests, if you please--the interest of their internal feelings, of their freedom, to feel right about themselves in the world. This should not be underestimated.

[Question] Do you count yourself as one who takes chances?

[Answer] No. At least not very much. But I recognize that for many the appearance of courage can be a stimulus. If my program proves anything in this regard it proves that rational risk puts an end to the ceaseless struggle with irrational risks. When I asked my superiors to let my program go out direct and when they agreed what really happened was that they permitted me to take from their shoulders, month after month, the decision as to whether the program could go out or not. They freed themselves of narrow points of view and bad dilemmas. In what respect? In that they rejected the possibility of being "responsible" for giving the green or red light at a crossing where such was not needed. During the program, if some problem arises, it is a matter for only me and for my subjects, from whom, I think, I have sometimes succeeded in getting things which they never would have said.

[Question] What is your method?

[Answer] If I feel that something is a hard question I try to present it so that it will not appear to be one. And I sharpen up themes which are not too interesting. I provoke and "stir up" the subjects a bit. Perhaps this is why, after 5 or 10 minutes of excitement, they do not notice that we have been in it up to our necks for a long time. Eighty percent of my interview partners stand up with two stereotyped comments: "Gee, is the time up already?! I expected much more difficult questions." And let us stop here a minute. If almost everybody reacts in this way, what must have been in their minds and hearts that we did not ask about! What could they have been thinking about that did not come up! What could those more difficult questions have been? This bothers me. And to answer now your first question, there still are "hard questions" in Hungary today. The reaction of the audience is a "hard question," that they should be surprised--with what ears so many still listen to freer, more democratic conversations. Because as long as people look at me and say, "Gee, does he dare to ask that?" there is trouble. So I say that as long as this is where we are this must be done.

[Question] You seem to be saying that you would be completely happy when even the dog did not listen to your program. What is needed for this?

[Answer] That things should go "direct" and "live" in every sector of production, culture and public education.

[Question] But how?

[Answer] I do not know. These are still the hard questions in Hungary.

8984

CSO: 2500

AERIAL NAVIGATION INSTRUMENT CHECKS DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Jul 77 p 5

[Article by Zoltan Gyulay: "A Patrol in the Sky"]

[Text] Every day 50 large capacity aircraft take off from the field. This means that every seventh aircraft is a Jumbo Jet (361 passengers), an Airbus A-300 (253 passengers) or a DC 10 (265 passengers). In the main season they must prepare to service 20 giant planes at one time; the number of giant planes has increased by almost 20 percent as compared to last year.

All this refers to Frankfurt's Rhein-Main Airport, one of the largest airports in Europe. But the Hungarian data are not to be scorned for this reason; during the winter season the number of arriving and departing planes combined is between 70 and 80 at Ferihegy and the number flying through the country's airspace is about 120. In the summer these figures are doubled. Their safety, and that of the passengers and crew on board, is served by various types of ground navigation equipment linked to instruments on board via radio waves or aiding the work of ground controllers. As a result of investments by the Air Traffic and Airport Authority the equipment now in operation corresponds even to the strict international prescriptions.

1.

HA-YLR. This is the registration of the Yak-40. The squat plane sits on the pad, the light shining on its red painted horizontal stabilizers. We enter by the rear on a comfortable stair. There are comfortable armchairs on board, for hardly more than 20 people. Captain Imre Toth, deputy chief pilot of the authority, and co-pilot Karoly Rebb are preparing for takeoff. The passenger area is empty now; only control chief Laszlo Keri and the journalist are going up. The task: to check the Tapiosap NDB [non-directional beacon] transmitter.

It is exactly nine o'clock; the brakes are released. We have started to roll. We are taking off from Vecses, from the so-called threshold 31, which makes a 310 degree angle with the equator. (Landings and takeoffs are always against the wind; if the wind is blowing toward the city the

direction is 130 degrees, that is threshold 13.) At nine minutes after nine we are at the end of the runway, we build up power and request permission for takeoff. Then the little plane runs down the concrete strip, we are pressed back into our seats, our ears pop, the buildings of the airport sink beneath us, the landscape "opens out" through the windows. In minutes we are over Ujpest; then we cross the Danube at Szentendre. Destination Gyor. But there is much movement in the western hills, many sport planes are practicing, so at Tatabanya we turn back.

2.

This Yak-40, a three jet plane, was purchased by MALEV [the Hungarian Air Transport Enterprise] on 16 December 1975. They needed it, but it does not carry passengers. The ground control equipment serving flight safety must be regularly checked in a planned manner, partly from the ground and partly from the air. Previously they used mobile metering instruments in a plane serving another purpose but the present equipment, of higher quality and working much more precisely, made it necessary to carry out the so-called calibration with fixed equipment.

The Yak-40 serves this purpose. For the time being the ground navigation equipment, directional transmitters, radar and other instruments are checked and calibrated only with the on-board instruments of the plane but plans are already being prepared to install instruments which operate independent of the plane's equipment. These will not only measure but will also record the data. But permission of the Soviet designers is needed for this. Only with their permission can one install the various antennas and sensors which might change the aerodynamic properties of the aircraft.

"This is an outstanding plane, we love it 'to death,'" Imre Toth says. "Not only the two of us who are flying it now but also Miklos Csallokozi, the chief pilot of the authority, and Captain Janos Fritz who fly it in addition to us. It is unique among aircraft in this category. There are more than a thousand of them in use in the Soviet Union and very many countries around the world have bought them or are buying them. It handles outstandingly, has a maximum altitude of 8,000 meters, a top speed of 550 kilometers per hour and a range of 1,500 kilometers and so could reach every airport in Europe, Asia and Africa in a circle defined by Paris-Stockholm-Helsinki-Moscow-Ankara-Athens-Tunis-Barcelona, without landing."

Since this is the only such plane in our homeland the more significant maintenance is done in Odessa and the crews are trained in a pilot school in the Soviet Union.

3.

Meanwhile Laszlo Keri is watching the instruments in the pilot's cabin. He writes down the figures from the dials. The swing is a total of 2-3 degrees, sometimes zero, but this is actually negligible or could be attributed to the movement of the plane. At first our trip is pleasant;

only occasionally some turbulence. We do not "lift" much. Still. Over Bekes we reach a higher altitude to avoid a few clumps of cloud. This is even safer. The new altitude is 1,800 meters. Brilliant sunshine.

The Tapiosap NDB equipment is located at a crossing of the axes of the air corridors leading into the country. To the amusement of the experts laymen call it an "invisible lighthouse." A strict schedule governs its constant checking; they check monthly to see if it is operating correctly. The schedule also applies to all the other equipment, with a few days leeway. They never wait for a time limit to run out for the Yak-40 can receive permission to take off independent of the schedule.

In the cabin the pilots are talking about their work. They talk about how several hundred prescriptions must be taken into consideration with each maneuver. They must know everything from outside and do nothing by memory; there is need for constant self-supervision. This also serves flight safety.

Imre Toth has been flying since 1949. He is responsible for care of the Yak-40 and of civilian aircraft not used for general traffic. His task is to test the several hundred powered and glider craft of the country as well as helicopters, to give examinations to crews and inspect flight technology, routes, parachutes and parachutists. Imre Toth and Miklos Csallokozi work for the Air Traffic and Airport Authority; Janos Fritz and Karoly Rebb are MALEV personnel. The next trip for our co-pilot, for example, will be to Dubrovnik on a TU-134.

4.

We are now returning for the third time toward Tapiosap and thus flying to Adand. Some turbulence rather shakes us over Budapest this time. "They've paved the air with stones and the road is bumpy," the commander jokes. Several planes are requesting higher routes--we hear this on the receiver--to avoid the disturbance developing over the capital. The circling pale green light traces the outline of the Balaton on the radar screen. Then we see it with our own eyes. We turn back over the Tihany peninsula, the kerosene is running out of the fuel tanks, our destination is Ferihegy. The pilots disconnect the robots and take control. For the moment ground control does not authorize approach. The landing strip has already appeared through the cabin windows when the descent begins at a steep angle. A slight jolt--we have touched down. It is 12 o'clock noon. A dispatcher in white gloves indicates the stop line. The ground crew arrives to prepare the plane for another start. Takeoff in an hour, to recheck the data of the morning. We get out.

8984

CSO: 2500

CAUSES OF AIR ACCIDENTS DESCRIBED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish
No 5, May 77 pp 35 - 39

[Article by Col GS (pilot) J. Zych and Lt Col GS (pilot) W. Bielecki: "The Detection and Combatting of Conditions Contributing to Air Accidents"]

[Text] The creation by the command of an air unit with an atmosphere of honesty and mutual confidence among the flying personnel assures 50 percent of the success in eliminating the conditions contributing to air accidents.

In the everyday effort to improve flying safety, we distinguish between accidents due to personnel error and those beyond the personnel control. In practically every air accident, however, the human factor plays a decisive role. If the causes cannot be found in the unit, they can be found at the air equipment manufacturer, at the maintenance facility or in the inexact rules governing the training and employment of equipment.

The essential task of the organizers of flight training and of air safety teams is to eliminate accidents due to the human factor. An air accident never happens suddenly. It is a result of a series of causes and oversights which have not been noticed in everyday training, or of the negligent treatment of apparently minor shortcomings and errors, or getting used to them. The gradual accumulation of such irregularities and the failure to eliminate them at the right time lead to the creation of causes of accidents or even of air accidents. The quantity of errors becomes the quality.

The proper behavior of persons responsible for flight training, the discovery of errors and shortcomings and the drawing of appropriate preventive conclusions are not the objectives per se, but they should serve to eliminate the irregularities in flight training and to provide the means to avoid air accidents.

Reading the logbooks of flight directors a characteristic phenomenon can be noticed: about 80 percent of the conditions contributing to air accidents are observed and noted by the flight director or other air controllers. These observations pertain to the ground and flying safety, to technical

servicing and equipment reliability and they refer to the errors committed by pilots on take off, while flying in the pattern and on landing. Thus, all these shortcomings are directly observed by the flight control staff. Occasionally, there are also notes on the contributing conditions caused by pilot's error while carrying out his mission outside the flight director's observation and control range. The question comes to mind: perhaps such conditions do not really exist? They do exist, however, and there are quite a few, but it is difficult to uncover them. If a condition is caused by equipment or by flying safety measures then it is reported to the flight director or to the engineer, but if it is a pilot's error, he, as a rule, does not talk about it because he is afraid of the consequences. The condition could have been caused by the lack of discipline, an error of flying technique or an improper operation of equipment. Those conditions are in a sense "shameful" for the pilot and admitting them could somehow lower his prestige in the eyes of his superiors and fellow pilots. This is the result of human psychology, but such an attitude to errors is very harmful in flying activities, as it creates a special threat to flying safety. The organizers of flight training, without knowing the errors committed by the flying personnel, do not have the possibility of counteracting and eliminating those errors.

On the basis of an anonymous poll and our own extensive flying experience, we have concluded that there is no pilot who has never committed an error, major or minor, which could have led to an air accident and had not failed to admit it. Some of those errors could have had very serious consequences and many a time only lucky circumstances prevented an air accident. Here are a few typical examples. During the retraining for jet aircraft, one of the pilots decided to do a so-called "turn on the hill" despite the fact that the flight manual forbids that maneuver on that type of aircraft (there is a possibility of engine failure). The pilot, however, performed that maneuver against the rules. The engine did indeed fail. The pilot restarted the engine, again against the rules, and he did it below the safe altitude. After having completed his mission, he landed and did not inform anybody about the incident. He knew that he had twice broken flying discipline.

In another case, the pilot lost his sense of balance. Flying under IFR conditions, above the clouds and in dense fog while the moon was shining bright, he had the impression that the aircraft was flying with a strong starboard list. Under these circumstances he could not force himself to execute a right turn being afraid to increase the presumed list. He descended to the approach course by executing the left turn thus violating the flight pattern at that airfield. The malfunction of the artificial horizon disappeared upon entering the clouds.

This was a very serious potential cause of an air accident and it consisted of two elements. First, the malfunction of the artificial horizon could have led to the loss of spatial position and, second, the violation of the flight pattern rules could have led to a collision with another aircraft. The pilot, however, did not report the incident to his superiors. The reason for concealment was simple: the pilot was afraid that after the

disclosure he would be sent for observation to the Military Institute of Aviation Medicine for about two weeks. Leaving home for such a long period did not suit him because his wife was expecting a baby. And here is still another example. While practice firing at the sleeve, a pilot who wanted to accomplish his task at any price was opening fire at very short range. During one of the passes he did not have time to pull out and touched the sleeve with his wing tip, causing minor damage to the outer skin. This incident was not noticed by the sleeve towing crew. After landing, without reporting anything, the pilot, in cooperation with the ground crew, fixed the aircraft. The flight directors did not know anything about the incident, which could have caused an accident and was a glaring breach of discipline. If the pilot had admitted that he could not hit the sleeve using the prescribed maneuver, he would have received additional theoretical instruction, demonstration flights in a dual control aircraft and the contributing conditions possibly leading to a dangerous accident would not have occurred.

Many more contributing conditions of this type occur but one can learn about them only much later in moments of frankness and when it is too late to undertake proper preventive measures. It is not too bad if certain conditions are caused by the pilot only once and he knows how to draw the right conclusions himself. But if this happens repeatedly, sooner or later an air accident is bound to occur and it is very difficult to determine its causes. This is the reason why the commanders and staffs of Air Brigades should concern themselves with developing ways and means which would uncover the conditions contributing to air accidents which occur during flights outside the visual control of the flight director. The knowledge of these conditions and their sources can in many instances protect the pilot from a dangerous air accident. For this reason it is necessary to search for ways to improve air safety in flight training through the following efforts:

1. Creation in the units of an atmosphere of frankness and trust between the flying personnel and their superiors and instructors.
2. Proper use of objective means of flight control.

Frankness with and trust in the superiors are the foundation of analysis of the errors and conditions contributing to air accidents. It is a very complex problem involving many factors which should be investigated by psychologists. In most cases the pilot who commits an error in flight, even a very serious one, is reluctant to admit it because he is afraid of consequences. These consequences may be additional flights in dual control aircraft, suspension of flying and other sanctions. In cases involving an experienced pilot, prestige is an important consideration and for a young pilot it is the fear of ridicule. The instinctive reluctance of the flying personnel to admit errors can be partially overcome by creation of the proper atmosphere. Friendly and frank relations between the experienced pilots and the young ones and among the contemporaries themselves, create a climate encouraging confidences. The subject of these confidences may be flying experiences. The behavior of the listener to the confidences is of great importance, be he a superior or an equal. He must remember to be tactful and serious. The

information thus obtained must not be turned into a sensation, given general publicity or be a basis for official sanctions; it may be an embarrassing matter for the one who confided and therefore not meant for public knowledge. Lack of respect for this principle may contribute to drying up of this source of information. If a superior finds out in this manner about a pilot creating a contributing condition, committing an error or about other difficulties in flight, he must, to the extent he can, draw the proper training conclusions and implement appropriate preventive measures. Creation of the atmosphere of frankness and trust should be not only the superiors' task but also a job for the party and social organizations. An atmosphere of comradeship (but not laxity) provides the base for proper relationships within the flying personnel collective and this, in turn, enhances the improvement of flying safety. Additionally, the flow of information on the contributing conditions committed, but otherwise seldom discovered, will be added to the general store of knowledge. Knowing the errors committed by pilots permits the proper preventive measures to be undertaken in time.

A flying incident may serve as an example of a case in which the pilot's frankness, his trust in his superiors and his courage perhaps contributed to the avoidance of an air accident. During night flying in difficult weather conditions, in dense fog, this pilot, when approaching the third turn (the flight required reverse course navigation) began to feel the illusion that he was flying with a heavy list to port. Despite flying by the artificial horizon, the pilot could not shed that illusion and started to lose spatial orientation. He did not try to land at any cost but immediately reported this phenomenon to the flight director who instructed the pilot to fly straight line by the artificial horizon and to gain altitude slowly at low ascent angle in order to get above the fog. At the altitude of 2,000 meters the fog ended, the natural horizon was visible and the pilot regained his sense of equilibrium. From that altitude, with the help of the IFR landing controller, the pilot was brought on the straight line to the beginning of the approach thus permitting a safe ending of the flight.

While investigating the incident, it turned out that the experienced pilot first class had hallucinations due to overwork. His admission of the situation which occurred in flight was an expression of confidence in the flight director. Probably he could have regained self control and landed safely, but there also could have been a very unpleasant outcome. This attitude did not cost the pilot his prestige; on the contrary, his frankness helped the unit command to create an atmosphere of trust in the air controllers that they can help the crews in the air and that pilot also proved that the controllers' help was effective.

Objective Flight Control Measures as the Source of Information on Conditions Contributing to Air Accidents

The objective flight control measures are basically divided into two groups:

1. Ground safety and flight control instrument recorders.

2. The onboard recorders of flight parameters.

Among the instruments which serve to record the ground flight safety and air control activities are: magnetic recorders of air command radio net messages and of flight safety radio net messages, cameras filming the screens at the radar stations, carbon copies of flight parameter tracings, shooting targets and log entries.

The onboard flight recorders play the most important role in discovering the errors and contributing conditions to air accidents outside the flight director's and air controllers' observation range. The parameters recorded by these instruments can be used for:

- analysis of flight personnel actions and evaluation of the tasks performed by them;
- control of the use and operation of propelling engine and deck instruments;
- objective determination of the causes of contributing conditions and of air accidents.

The pertinent information obtained from the onboard recorders, when properly analyzed and used, provides the command personnel of an air unit with important clues for selecting the effective preventive means and actions. Automating recordings of all kinds of instruments provide invaluable material which can serve to discover irregularities both in flight and in training. To exploit this material properly, the organizers of flight training (flight commanders, squadron commanders, service chiefs) must know how to use it and be willing to do so. The materials from the objective flight control instruments which are not used properly become a pile of worthless paper and the painstaking work of the transcribers goes to waste.

For instance, the films taken by photo machine guns are a valuable source of information not only about the pilot errors committed while attacking ground targets and in air combat but also about the contributing conditions to air accidents. The analysis of film can determine the distance at which the pilot began firing, his dive angles, the length of his fire bursts and the exit angle. Thus, we have the data to analyze the pilot's level of proficiency, the errors committed by him and the violations of the prescribed flight parameters. Often, the only person in the unit interested in the photo machine gun film is the chief of air munition delivery training who limits his role to giving a grade and recording or not recording the credit for the test. The instructors, however, do not analyze the data contained in that film. The flight records should be analyzed primarily by the lowest echelon commanders, i.e. the flight commanders. As they command only a small number of pilots they would not have too much material to study and could review it thoroughly, when necessary analyze it in detail and draw the proper conclusions for further training. The squadron commander or his executive officer can do much less in this respect. They can pay attention only

fragmentarily, depending on the current training. The flight commander, after personally acquainting himself with the material, should report it to his superiors, pointing out instances of special interest. These materials may also provide important items of information to the flight safety teams and to the methodology board, permitting the latter to develop better flight training methods. Lack of interest in the objective flight control recording data may lead to an air accident. Let us use an example. A young pilot during his first independent unconstrained air combat, in daylight, above the clouds, while executing a turnover got into the jet stream of the leading aircraft, lost his spatial position and ejected. The aircraft was destroyed. Could this accident have been avoided? It transpired that it could, because during the training of that pilot a serious error had been committed. The trainers did not use the tapes from the objective flight control instruments for checking the pilot's progress. Only the accident investigating commission looked into the problem and determined that the young pilot during a few preceding flights to the training zone, had not executed the intermediate proficiency level maneuvers and, consequently, had not been ready to participate in unconstrained air combat. The reluctance of the pilot to execute the intermediate and the advance level maneuvers probably was the result of his imperfect mastering of aircraft flying techniques. The flight commander, the squadron commander and other superiors did not pay attention to the objective flight control recordings and did not know the pilot's proficiency level. The irregularities eliminated in time would have prevented the accident. Hence, the conclusion is that the objective flight control measures should serve primarily the instructors (commanders) in uncovering and eliminating the shortcomings rather than the commissions to investigate air accidents.

The automatic recorders of flight parameters have one basic shortcoming: they do not record the physical and psychological state of the pilot. For this reason human psychology and the phenomena taking place in flight must be the subject of a separate discussion.

The purpose of this article was to present the importance of discovering all errors and conditions contributing to air accidents perpetrated by the flight personnel and evading the control of the personnel in charge. Paying attention to these matters will permit a more detailed analysis of the flight training program and application of the proper and effective preventive measures. The above discussed means to discover the contributing conditions do not exhaust all possibilities; they can be used, however, in every air unit with the modifications appropriate to the local conditions and the specific type of air unit.

8801

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

LITERARY REVIEW PUBLISHES POEM HONORING CEAUSESCU'S MOTHER

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 7 Jul 77 p 1

[Poem by Violeta Zamfirescu: "Mother"--to Alexandra Ceausescu, in Memoriam]

[Text] Rock flame source and life of the house
Mother.
Longing among lights,
Giver of birth among tears,
In the grass, in the sun,
In the antiquity of this earth,
The wisdom of the Earth.
She has given birth to and raised men,
She has given birth to and raised Man.
To the body of a child
She has given sight, hearing, an erect and strong gait.
Handsome, in thought.
A large eye, a warm eye she has opened toward the earth.
Glowing in the middle of the day
Reflecting it in longing.
Will like iron,
Character like steel,
Word harmony revolving, a rose.
Always cradling, raising, protecting,
A pure life, will pass through struggles,
Anxieties burned off, in the air, will seek
The day with the seal of clear success.
The son.
For his country
And his people
For the brilliance
Of the star of the people.
And like a great light
The sunflower
The mother-thought passes
The son raises his head when it is windy.
The light will emerge from the dew of the soul.

And when the bones of the mummy
Endures concealment from the World
As the moon as the star
As the summer as the snow,
The horizon enjoys
Her beauty as a mother.
In time, she hears silence
While going from the mourning of the world
Into the clouds, she is detached;
The horizon sings
Trembling
To light and peace.

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

MILATOVIC OF MONTENEGRO ON STAFFING, OTHER MATTERS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1377, 29 May 77
pp 6-8

[Interview of Veljko Milatovic, chairman of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Montenegro, by NIN staff writers: "The Workers Are Angels, the Workers Are Devils"]

[Text] When a group of Montenegrin politicians recently visited President Tito in Igalo, it was the general assessment that the general situation and political situation in this republic were satisfactory. "That assessment is acceptable even today after we have learned about the economic balances in the republic, though we are worried about certain economic trends," Veljko Milatovic said in an interview with NIN, emphasizing that in the case of the economy, one cannot evaluate the situation solely on the basis of current developments.

We talked with Milatovic in a room of the Villa Gorica, which is used for several purposes, one of which is to serve as a club for members of the assembly. One might say that the room where the interview took place was sparsely rather than simply furnished (brown velvet and blue wall-to-wall carpeting), and the armchairs creaked, which bothered the person taping the session most of all. A table with two calendars, Njegos' bust on an empty bookshelf.

Milatovic spoke without notes, but he was obviously concentrating, resisting when we newsmen tried to interrupt him. In Montenegro, where Milatovic is a man highly respected even from the days of the war, when he earned a National Hero Order, they regard him as a man whose talk is known for its frankness, keenness and straightforwardness.

We asked him to explain at some greater length how he sees the political and general situation in Montenegro, which at the outset of the talk he judged to be stable and satisfactory.

"Stability should not be related to an individual, in Montenegro it is the result of a policy of a natural introduction of young new blood, which has been going on now for 10 or 12 years at all levels."

While traveling through Montenegro, in Plav, Mojkovac and Budva, on Cetinje, we mainly met 30-year-olds in positions of the greatest responsibility. We were surprised by the makeup of Montenegrotourist, Montenegro's giant in the tourist industry. There we found without exception, both in the collegium and also in the positions of directors of the organization of associated labor, young men with high qualifications, including M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s.

Conflicts Without Punitive Measures

"We are oriented toward collective work, toward quite a broad range of institutions and individuals. In order to establish that situation we needed a considerable degree of unity. It is true that we had to go through a period of opposition from those who did not understand. Nevertheless, we did not settle the conflicts with either administrative or punitive measures, but the battle for the new relations was won out in the open. We were the first to defend those with whom we agreed the least from being expelled, since we felt that the extent of our disagreement was not such that they ought to be expelled from the party and their patriotism questioned. We maintained communication with all those with whom we could find a common language--at least on certain topics."

Veljko Milatovic feels that this way of going about things has brought important results, since "we are a traditional community in which a dose of sectarianism was at times evident, especially in personnel policy. In the past we have been known for our readiness to stage a showdown and to settle accounts and differ in an emotional way. Now we have our young personnel who are not burdened with the old prejudices and disagreements. They have an incomparably better sense of what is realistic, and it is certainly they who deserve the credit for stability and the present good relations."

At the moment when the team from NIN was preparing for this conversation with the chairman of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Montenegro, one of the principal topics and dilemmas in economic and political circles in the republic were the results of the balance sheet of the republic's economy. Losses approximating 80 billion old dinars, though in relative terms no larger than in the other republics, nevertheless aroused serious debates in this republic.

One of the prestigious people we talked to in Montenegro expressed confidence that the problem of losses in the Montenegrin economy was more severely manifested here than in other places because the most vital industries were affected.

Is the Prime Mover Slacking Off?

"We are not so concerned by the figures coming in from organizations in which the principal losses were concentrated, but by certain broader tendencies related to the phenomenon of losses. It is certainly disturbing that most of the losses occurred in industry, which means that the prime mover of progress in the republic is flagging. The fact that the organizations showing losses employ about one-third of the republic's work force also deserves

serious analysis. What worries me most is that the pressure and demands are increasing for intervention by the government as the factor which ought to correct the errors of the past, including losses. This pressure inevitably gives impetus to the statist tendencies in society."

In what direction might such a disposition lead?

"I think that the entire situation opens up a new danger: a conflict within the ranks of the working class--since the workers have become aware that losses can be made up and the consequences of idleness repaired only at the expense of those doing better work. There is no one to cover the losses except those who have been earning income. That kind of conflict, that confrontation between portions of the working class, those who are doing good work and those who are doing bad work, can provide a pretext for all sorts of things. Moreover, the negative indicators of economic development must also lead to the conclusion that there has been a slackening off of activity by the organized forces of society, the League of Communists first of all, in the direction of strengthening income and everything related to income."

We asked Milatovic to explain this apparent discrepancy between the general opinion that the League of Communists had recently put the emphasis in its activity on clearing up relations in the economy and in associated labor and the judgment that activity to strengthen income is not as energetic as it was.

The Theory of Equal Stomachs

"I think in the fight we have waged in the last few years--with good reason--to shatter the technocratic positions which once became rather powerfully instituted and which manifested themselves primarily through the capital relation, we perhaps in our campaign neglected and deprived of its true function what we might call marketability, economic efficiency and profitability. That is how certain categories alien to our self-management socialism such as the categories of state-ownership behavior and a kind of consumption independent of the material capabilities of society took on strength in people's consciousness. As a reaction to the previous period, there was a stronger tendency toward social welfare, equal stomachs, a tendency toward primitive communism."

Did Milatovic think that such a tendency, specifically the belief that the "state" would in the end straighten out the situation, was perhaps more characteristic of Montenegro than of certain other republics? Milatovic sharply rejected that possibility.

That, he said, is not a problem of mentality, say of a nonworker mentality, but of conditions. How otherwise to explain that in one opstina one brother works in a factory, and he does good work, and the factory is doing well, while another brother in another opstina is working poorly? Mentality is created or it changes--as a function of conditions....

"You see, if all of us exert pressure on the economy to hire people at all costs, and this pressure is exerted on a relatively underdeveloped economy such as our economy in Montenegro, and if in so doing we systematically neglect the development of agriculture, and we make obstacles for people when they want to develop an activity in the private sector, then all of this brings more pressure to bear on the socialized sector than anyone can stand, even German industry if it were faced with temptations of that kind."

Is not Montenegro in a more favorable situation than others because it has a better skill-specific composition of the labor force than Slovenia, because in relative terms it has the highest number of educated people in Yugoslavia, and because it has up-to-date technology in industry? Milatovic spoke once again with insistence:

"It is true that we have more educated people, but it is also true that we are very underdeveloped, and that a strong pressure has been exerted to open up new jobs for people from rural areas, for young people who are finishing school, and for welfare cases. We do not have the skill-specific composition of the labor force or the industrial potential to withstand pressures of that kind."

Worker Revenge

Given that atmosphere, how does Milatovic evaluate the behavior of the workers, of the working class? It is usually said that the workers are not at fault for that situation....

"As for the working class," Milatovic said, "in many places two unacceptable assessments are predominant. Some people talk about the workers in idealistic terms. I think that that idealization of the working class is inherent in any working class movement in its early years, but it is unacceptable in a society which has a rich history and an abundance of experience. To say that the worker is 'good and innocent,' because he is doing everything he can, carries an implication and usually amounts to underestimation [of the workers--translator's note] and a passing of the buck onto the organizer and expert."

What is the other extreme assessment?

"The conception of the workers as bastards who spend all their worktime in the factories resting from their private affairs and moonlighting. This is assessment is just as inaccurate, since a worker with a small income on a job that is poorly organized, I don't care what he is, even suppose that his father and grandfather were workers, he cannot do good work and he must see where he can get some additional income aside from his job in order to maintain his existence. To pass the buck to the workers in such situations, and this does not apply exclusively to Montenegro, since this is a Yugoslav topic, means taking up the viewpoint of the 'elite' which blames the workers for its own inability to organize the work. You are apt to hear: if he just had a true working class, then you would see...."

Stressing at the same time that neglect of economic criteria has actually strengthened the statist relationship based on state ownership in people's minds, in ideology, and also in the political sphere, Milatovic then expounded an unusual opinion as to why personal incomes are rising unjustifiably and inexplicably in certain organizations of associated labor:

"Our present working class is no longer what it was 10 years ago, when any bureaucratic or liberalistic action could carry it along involuntarily. At that time we did not have an elaborate and integral socioeconomic and economic system, and technocracy and the capital relation were able to seriously jeopardize even vital positions of the working class. Today this is difficult to manage, since the system has now been completed. However, precisely because the working class has become more conscious, it is reacting in a new way--to many cases of injustice in the system of remuneration, and especially to uncontrolled behavior in general and community expenditures, in special-interest communities, in opstinas, and in the republic and federal administration.

"Now when personal incomes are distributed in organizations of associated labor, the workers take care of themselves regardless of the results of work, since they see that this is done by others, frequently those bearing greater responsibility than they do, especially in noneconomic activity. It is true that in the final analysis this spontaneous reaction is futile even for the workers, but it indicates that the workers are still not strong enough to be able to take the entire reproduction of society into their own hands.

"You have seen that the workers are rarely going on strike now, since they have taken control over their portion of the income to cover their expenditures. I often think that it would be better if the workers reacted more strongly in expressing their dissatisfaction because of the unjust distribution and unrealistic incomes in the administrative sectors, where distribution, and expenditures in general, are still put on the old basis and are not made a function of material capability and production assignments."

This phenomenon, in Milatovic's opinion, is in need of a sociological explanation and an explanation in the field of political science. If the principle of the free exchange of labor is still by and large a declaration; if we continue to go about adding on more and more to the administrative sector, especially when it is as inefficient as it is; if that kind of administration is still being much better paid than associated labor, and if the special-interest communities, as we have established in various places, have turned into a duplication of the administration [they replaced--translator's note], then there is something quite serious at the heart of this situation. We have to find out what.

Is Statism a Threat to Us?

What is the deeper cause that lies behind this phenomenon?

Milatovic has obviously been thinking about this a great deal of late. He says that our intention with the new assembly system and with the introduction of the executive committees was to break up the so-called presidential system. When everything is added up, it turns out that it has not been weakened at all, but might even be still more dangerous. The members of the executive committees of special-interest communities and also of the executive bodies of opstinas are now more and more directors from the economy and chiefs in the administrative sector, so that in many opstinas there is a tie-up of leaders from the different sectors: government officials, political functionaries and business executives. We hoped then, that the executive committees would bring about coordination of the work of the administration so that the delegate system would have all the information and room for making decisions, but instead the presidential system stayed alive, and in Milatovic's opinion it is stronger than it ever was.

"There is a particularly serious problem in urgent need of analysis, and that is the tendency toward bureaucratization even in overall political relations; not just in the government and in government agencies, but also in political organizations and indeed in the League of Communists. The executive bodies have become stronger in all political structures, and that strength is obviously out of proportion with the needs and requirements of our society and our system. It was logical for the predominance of executive bodies to carry over from the spheres of government to the political spheres, since there has always been a tie-up and an interdependence between the party and society. Neither can do without the other. Whenever the executive bodies of the state become stronger, that means that something similar is taking place in the party as well. And conversely: when the government is 'weakening,' then the party is 'weakening' as well. Sometimes the tie-up gives strength to centralistic tendencies, and sometimes to particularistic tendencies."

All these tendencies, Milatovic thinks, should be frankly and seriously discussed, since we are sufficiently strong as a society to overcome all negative currents in an organized way and without fear of the comments that might be made in certain places concerning our frankness and our reflections about our difficulties.

In this context the shift was made to talk about serious tendencies toward distortion of the institution of moral and political suitability for hiring, which have been noted in Montenegro as in other places. Following the same antidogmatic line, Milatovic feels that we need unambiguous public debates about this topic. What is his view of the institution of moral and political suitability for hiring, and then of the distortion of principles which are clear? How does he assess the fact that it is difficult to remove this problem from the agenda, although clear positions have been adopted concerning it even in the highest sociopolitical forums?

A Morally and Politically Suitable Cook

"I am certain that there are places so sensitive, say where work is done with state secrets, or that there are political positions which can be held only by individuals who are morally and politically suitable, uncompromised, tested and responsible. There is no society which will allow certain of its sensitive places in the government to be held by someone who is morally suspect. The problem arises, however, when this principle is applied in an extremist way in places where it makes no sense. If we are seeking moral and political suitability, and this is frequently translated as membership in the party, for someone who is competing for a position, say, as a cook, then this is truly a disturbing case of extremism. Actions like this are in the most flagrant contradiction with the positions we have adopted concerning the Socialist Alliance. How can we politicize and enhance the prestige of this organization, which is our organization with the largest membership, if in practice we take the position that there is no job of any interest or of any public responsibility which can be held by someone who is not a member of the League of Communists."

It is certain, Milatovic went on to say, that this society must be sensitive when it comes to people who are morally degraded, crooks, imposters and embezzlers and it cannot allow them to assume responsible public positions. But if we make it our practice that no one can be either a director or assistant director merely because he is not a member of the League of Communists, then this is disturbing and harmful. What is more, this kind of position can stimulate careerism, and we know that many become members of the party out of careerism, while there are those outside the party who are morally more suitable than some of those in the party.

Careerism and Young People

Milatovic spoke specifically about the institution of moral and political suitability with respect to young people who are just starting out and who sometimes we would like to check out when we hire them.

"What does it mean to inquire into the background of a young man who is just starting out? What can a check tell us about a student who has just graduated or a technician who has just reached age 20? Who are we to ask, and what are we to check? I agree that we should make certain that he does have professional skills and that he is suitable for the job, but we should not go looking for any sort of trumped-up elements.

"When applied to young people, this formalistic method of testing suitability can be fatal and can lead us into dangerous waters. It could be doubly harmful to the party: on the one hand it might strengthen the tendency toward careerism in the party, and on the other it could arouse dissatisfaction, bitterness and resistance on the part of those honorable young people who cannot accept certain formal criteria, specifically those of 'enrolling' in the League of Communists just to get a job. This could destroy bridges and relations between the party and its base and the broadest strata of society.

There are, I repeat, places in the government and the economy where every society wants people of a certain background. But to take this to the point where points are even given in the competition for jobs to those who are members of the party could be dangerous and could carry us into the realm of sectarianism."

In answer to NIN's question as to whether--particularly in young people, and especially those who have devoted themselves to political life in one phase--a tendency to stay in those positions even when the term for which they are elected has expired, resisting the return to their jobs in production as if their lives depended on it, Veljko Milatovic said that he does not believe that this is a phenomenon characteristic only of young people:

"I would say that this is a general trend, a general phenomenon for people to want to escape the economy and move into calmer waters, that is, activities in public life and in the administration, since life there is calmer, one is also paid, the pay is better and more reliable, and there are no great risks. In the case of experts, even they like to be out of the wind, in some administration, since there they are less exposed to the adversities related to business activity, to the market, to inflation, to recession, the pressures to find jobs, and the like. I think that this is a phenomenon which is true not only of Montenegro, but of all of Yugoslavia. Recently we read figures to the effect that the administration, or noneconomic activities, is better remunerated in the country as a whole than is the economy. There is no reason for surprise: it is a normal thing for a situation like that to drive people out of the economy, be they young or old. I think that we should find this disturbing, since these are very serious matters."

The 2 hours planned for the conversation had passed, there was a game (of no particular interest) on television. Milatovic invited us to watch the game in the social club where several football fans had gathered.

7045

CSO: 2800

SHIFT TO WARTIME OPERATION BY FOOD INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

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[Text] The food industry is the phase in which finished products are manufactured for the needs of domestic consumption and export, but this is done on the basis of given natural resources and the level of development of the primary production of raw materials. Agriculture is the main source of primary raw materials for the food industry. In the economically advanced countries today only about 20 percent of farm products reach the consumer without prior technological processing, while about 80 percent have gone through some degree of processing. Thus the food industry is the principal intermediary between agriculture and consumers of food products.

Qualitative improvements have been achieved in the industrial processing of raw materials of plant or animal origin, and finished products convenient for use (easier to store and transport and easy to measure out) are being given the proper taste, aroma and external appearance, less work is required to prepare them in the kitchen, etc. The food industry is important in that it is improving the food value of the initial raw material, is not allowing valuable food ingredients to be lost in the production process, but is concentrating and enriching them, at the same time eliminating everything that is unimportant and superfluous.

The food industry has been developing robustly in the second half of this century and has increased the volume of its output of various canned products and precooked and partially prepared dishes of plant and animal origin. The assortment of industrially produced food is very broad today in terms of the combination of components making up the finished product, the manner in which preserving is done, and also the purpose for which the food may be used. This development of the food industry, and especially progress in the production of precooked foods, also has great importance to organization of food service to the armed forces in peacetime and especially in wartime.

By the nature of nationwide defensive warfare, we assume that our society will rely primarily on our own resources and capabilities for supplying the

armed forces and the population in wartime. In discussing the capabilities for supplying agricultural foodstuffs, then, the food industry also has great importance along with agriculture. For example, the possibility of creating and possessing considerable emergency reserves of food high in calories and of high value in its biochemical composition depends largely on the canning industry, on its plant and equipment, and on the level of development of its technological procedures.

The processing of food products under wartime conditions is especially important. In addition to the features of industrially processed foodstuffs we have already mentioned, industrial processing prevents rapid spoilage of most highly perishable articles, extends the availability of seasonal articles and yields products which differ qualitatively from the initial raw materials. In contemporary warfare, when a large mass of consumers have to be furnished food away from settled areas and from facilities for preparation of food, and when all resources must be used in the most rational way, food service must be based increasingly on canned products, on industrially precooked or partially prepared dishes, which is a confirmation of the food industry's importance in wartime.

Nevertheless, all branches of the food industry do not have the same importance to organizing food service for the armed forces in wartime. The canning industry and the precooked foods industry will have particular importance under those conditions. One particular reason for this is that units actually engaged in combat action will mainly be eating dry rations. Also, the urban population will turn to food products supplied by the food industry. We can therefore say that in wartime the food industry will have equal importance in supplying the population and in supplying the armed forces. It is therefore thought that the food industry should continue operation with undiminished capacity even under wartime conditions, since this would provide an important source of food supply.

Volume of Production and Geographic Location

The food industry consists of several different groupings which have almost nothing similar about them in their technological production. What they have in common is that their finished products will be eaten by the public. Most groupings in the food industry are characterized by the seasonal nature of their production, especially in the processing of fruits, vegetables, sugar and oil. Along with this specific feature, we should also point out that the principal sources of raw materials coming from agriculture are bound by the annual growing season. Moreover, the hardest thing, packing and shipment of raw materials are still such that they do not guarantee that they will arrive undamaged at the processing facility. There is also a shortage in the number and capacity of silos and other storage space, so that the conditions do not exist for furnishing raw materials or products in large amounts.

The volume of production of the food industry is highly related to development of its physical plant. Nevertheless, the growth of the population,

rising income, the degree of urbanization and the coefficient of variation in the population's diet largely determine the size of the food industry's output. In addition, just as in agriculture, the level of output is also essentially affected by relations established in primary and secondary distribution, i.e., by the relations which afford the food industry a higher or lower rate of capital formation and labor productivity.

The level of development of agricultural production, and accordingly the regularity of supply of quality raw materials, also affects the food industry's volume of output. Domestic agriculture, though its situation has varied from year to year, has on the average furnished 60-90 percent of the raw materials for operation of the food industry. The growth of the food industry as a whole would not be large if it depended solely on the rate of population growth. It has been affected more substantially by other factors which are exerting a stronger impact on its rate of growth.

The increasingly frequent employment of women and the desire to reduce effort and time spent preparing food in the household represent one of the factors tending greatly to intensify production of partially prepared and precooked foods manufactured by industrial methods. The spread of institutional food service has also tended to increase this production. We should mention that at present, thanks to a large number of other reasons, the assortment is rather scanty, so that there is no broad choice among precooked foods on the market. Expansion of the assortment and thereby of the amount of preserved products and precooked food is especially important to nationwide defense, and this is one of the tasks lying ahead in the future development of the food industry.

One characteristic thing about the growth rate of Yugoslavia's food industry is that it is higher than the overall average of industrial production for the 10-year period between 1952 and 1962 (13.9 percent against 12.1 percent),* and over the 20-year period from 1952 to 1972 (11.5 percent against 10.9 percent annually).**

If we follow the statistics on the physical volume of production of the most important products of the food industry, we see an increase year after year (shown in the following table).***

Though the production of the various foodstuffs has developed at different rates in this period, by which we mean with certain fluctuations, on the whole it has still recorded a steady growth.

* Dr Vladimir Farkas, "Ekonomika jugoslovenske industrije" [The Economics of Yugoslav Industry], Informator, Zagreb, 1965, p 259.

** "Conception of Long-Range Industrial Development in Yugoslavia," a study prepared by the Institute for the Economics of Industry, Belgrade, 1973, p 10.

*** "Statisticki godisnjak SFRJ, 1972 god." [Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia. 1972], p 167, and "Statisticki godisnjak SFRJ, 1976 god.," p 191.

In thousands of tons

<u>Products</u>	<u>1939</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1952</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1975</u>
Flour	739	807	1,190	2,021	2,076	2,314
Alimentary pastes	11	18	24	48	47.5	54
Canned vegetables	0.9	1	2	30	58.5	111
Sausage products	4	3	7.8	38	62.5	113
Canned meats	1.3	1.3	1.8	53	48	73
Canned fish	3	1.8	3.8	30	19	31
Sugar	108	71	58	331	473	525
Edible vegetable oil	21	21	19	105	121	175
Starches	11	3.8	9.5	37	36.8	30

If we are to examine the real capabilities of the food industry in supplying the armed forces and the population in a possible war, it is indispensable that we examine its geographic location. It is well known that the following locational factors have a bearing on the geographic placement of the food industry: historical conditions, sources of raw materials, energy and technological fuel, markets, transportation, manpower, the level of technical and technological development, the interests of national defense, etc.

When we are talking about placement of the facilities of the Yugoslav food industry, we will see that in most cases sources of raw materials have been the decisive factor. The influence of the raw materials base on the location of enterprises in the food industry has been substantial because the costs of raw materials and supplies represent the largest cost item in the cost breakdown of food products. The raw materials base especially determines the location of those enterprises in the food industry which use perishable raw materials and those which are not suitable for transport. The sugar industry, flour mills, the oil industry, fish processing and the canning industry are exclusively located according to their sources of raw materials. A typical example of the raw materials orientation is sugar production, since the sugar beets, the principal raw material, contain about 80 percent water. This means that economic factors have been given the highest respect in the choice of site. Since the food industry is exceptionally important to feeding the population and armed forces in wartime, the element of security, along with the need for enterprises to be used as long as possible during possible military actions in wartime, make it a necessity that this industry be suitably located.

The number of factories in the food industry located in the central portions of the country is very small, except for minor facilities in the flour milling industry, the alimentary paste industry, and small plants for processing vegetables and fruits. This placement of production capacity indicates that under wartime conditions a large number of these plants will be exposed to the effects of war, and certain plants might be lost, which would make it more difficult for the food industry to operate and would thereby reduce the production of articles very important to the waging of armed conflict.

Possibilities for Operation and Supply of Raw Materials Under Wartime Conditions

Wartime conditions will cause considerable difficulties for the operation of the existing industrial potential, and--depending on how long the war lasts--capabilities will diminish more and more. In examining possibilities for wartime operation, we should state that industry as a whole, including the food industry, characteristically needs quite a long period of time to adapt to wartime conditions, and a change of location, assortment or a possible increase in the volume of production would require not only time, but also sizable investments. In addition, in most cases industrial facilities are set up so as to have a very harmonious relation between equipment and personnel, and this in turn makes it more difficult to accomplish a new adaptation or change of location, to disperse, to procure raw materials or to perform any other activity affected by wartime conditions.

The possibility for the wartime production of the food industry will also be considerably affected by the supply of power and water. With negligible exceptions the entire production process in this industry takes place in stationary facilities which rely on the public network for power and water. Should the power or water supply be interrupted, which will probably occur frequently, production would come to a halt, and at most plants the raw materials and finished products in stock would be apt to spoil.

One of the factors that has a bearing on reliability of wartime production of the food industry is the supply of raw materials. There are two factors we should bear in mind in discussing this problem: first, production of adequate amounts of raw materials, and second, their delivery to processing plants. The operation of industrial facilities processing agricultural products will depend to a large degree on the possibility of producing the raw material and also on transportation's capacity to transport it.

Since under wartime conditions the armed forces will have priority in the use of vehicles and transportation routes, transportation possibilities will in general be problematical, so that it is very important for the food processing industry that its processing facilities be as close as possible to the source of raw materials. The solution to this problem is when we build processing facilities in the central parts of the country, we should develop a source of raw materials alongside when the suitable conditions obtain.

The degree to which the adverse effect of military operations and of war as a whole on operation of the food industry can be corrected will depend primarily on the volume of peacetime production and effectiveness of preparation for this industry's wartime operation.

Peacetime Preparations

The possibilities for operation of the food industry in wartime which we have examined and the experiences of certain European countries and of Yugoslavia in World War II and then of the Korean and Vietnam wars indicate a

great number of difficulties this industry will face in a possible future war and in particular that the volume of production will inevitably decline from its prewar level. To what extent the food processing industry will in wartime fulfill expectations of joining with agriculture in meeting the food needs of the population and the armed forces, that is, to what extent production will be diminished, will depend on the level of peacetime production reached and the preparations of all elements of society for organized war-time production.

We can say that the peacetime preparations of sociopolitical communities, of organizations of associated labor in agriculture, the food processing industry and other portions of the agroindustrial complex, and also of private farmers for production of food products under wartime conditions have paramount importance. "It is a well-known truth that the outcome of a war will depend largely on peacetime preparations, since it is difficult to make up in wartime what was not done in peacetime, and when it is a question of feeding the people and their armed forces, the lapses are irremediable, and the consequences may be catastrophic."*

What we have said so far points up quite clearly the importance of peacetime preparations of the food industry for production in a possible war. Timeliness in making certain preparations becomes all the more important when we realize that surprise aggression is possible at the present level of development of equipment used in warfare. Under such conditions there would be limited time to adapt various food processing plants to the new situation. This means that the possibility of continuing production under the new (war-time) conditions would depend on the extent of peacetime preparations. We can therefore say that preparations for wartime production of processed foods must be based on the conception of nationwide defense, on the military-political assessment of the particular area and on the importance of the food industry to nationwide defense.

The measures which should make up preparations of the food industry in peacetime for its transition to wartime production would above all be the following:

- i. construction and development of food processing plants in all parts of the country,
- ii. provision for supplemental sources of power and water for the most vital plants,
- iii. provision for mobile facilities for processing primary foodstuffs,

* "Certain Questions of Political Ideology Related to the Socioeconomic Development of the Hilly and Mountain Region From the Standpoint of Nationwide Defense," Nationwide Defense Commission of the LCY Presidium, Belgrade, April 1973, p 34.

iv. divisibility (atomization) of the plants of the food processing industry or technological lines and their rapid dispersion,

v. involvement of scientific institutions in the peacetime preparations of the food industry, etc.

If reliable production of processed and highly processed food products is to be ensured under wartime conditions, the primary orientation must be toward facilities in those regions of the country which are strategically secure and where the same or products similar in technological process are being produced in peacetime. With respect to the conception of nationwide defense, this means that the peacetime programming of the food industry's development must respect not only economic factors in location of facilities, but thought must also be given to placement of food processing plants over the entire area of the country, so that the basic foodstuffs can be processed at every point and under all conditions.

Comprehensive solution of the problems of agricultural development in the mountain and hilly region of the country inevitably must include development of food processing plants in this region. The conditions are favorable in this region for the planned development of industries consuming livestock products which have a long storage life if high standards are maintained in processing; this is particularly important for building up reserves.

The food industry's intake capacity is the basis for development of the raw material base, with which it makes up a synchronized whole. It should therefore be developed on the basis of an engineering plan for development of the entire agroindustrial complex--from production of raw materials, through processing, refrigeration, and packaging, to distribution. Favorable conditions exist for this kind of development of the food industry and of the entire agroindustrial complex in the hilly and mountain region, and as for consumption of these products, especially those originating in the central portion of the country, the orientation should be toward the tourist industry of the Adriatic coast, which every year is consuming ever greater quantities of food products, particularly in the tourist season. This strategy would develop and strengthen a region which is today mostly underdeveloped, and at the same time it would create the basis for supplying food to the population and armed forces in a nationwide defensive war.

The group of food products including milled products, alimentary pastes, yeast, bread, meat, sugar, salt, processed meat, dairy and fruit products, fats, etc., are such that their production must be provided for under all wartime conditions. Peacetime preparations must therefore include providing additional sources of power and water to plants in the food industry producing these articles so that production can continue unhindered when there is interruption of supply from external power sources.

In addition to all the preparatory measures taken in peacetime, there might still be reasons in wartime why production must be suspended in stationary facilities. Mobile facilities, at least for the most necessary activities,

must therefore be provided for in peacetime. These facilities should primarily be furnished for milling grains (small motor-driven mills attached to silos or in the possession of an organization of associated labor in the grain trade), and then for slaughtering livestock and meat processing (mobile meat packing facilities in the possession of meat packing enterprises), breadbaking (mobile bakeries) and preparation and cooking of food (mobile kitchens in the possession of restaurants or other organizations of associated labor which provide large-scale food service).

One of the preparatory steps to be taken by the food industry in peacetime, one which will facilitate successful continuation of production under wartime conditions, is to plan the divisibility of individual plants or technological production lines and their placement in smaller settlements or away from settled places. This step has particular importance to those areas which we assume would be occupied by the aggressor's forces for a shorter or longer time. Sociopolitical communities, work organizations and other organizations must make the organizational and physical preparations for operation under such conditions so as to ensure continued supply of the principal foodstuffs needed by the population and units operating in the enemy's rear. Within the context of these measures the necessary components should also be planned and prepared for erecting field and improvised facilities in suitable areas. This applies particularly to the milling of grains (ordinary mills--water mills), for breadbaking (field ovens, both constructed and improvised), field slaughterhouses, facilities for preparing and cooking food, etc.

Close ties should be made between the food industry and scientific research institutions so that more effective use can be made of the most recent achievements of food science and technology in the context of the food industry's peacetime preparations for wartime operation. For example, science ought to provide an answer to the question of which technological procedures are most suitable for processing particular farm products under wartime conditions; how can the edibility and freshness of various important foodstuffs (bread, meat, etc.) be preserved for the longest time, and then can certain imported raw materials be replaced by domestic raw materials, and so on.

Many of these steps are very extensive and require considerable effort, time and money. For that reason all the preparations should be planned, primarily in each organization of associated labor in the food industry, and the point of departure should be the principle of adopting realistic plans and of making preparations which are rational, economical and purposeful. The best and most effective preparations of the food industry for wartime operation will be made if these preparations are coordinated with corresponding preparations in agriculture and in trade.